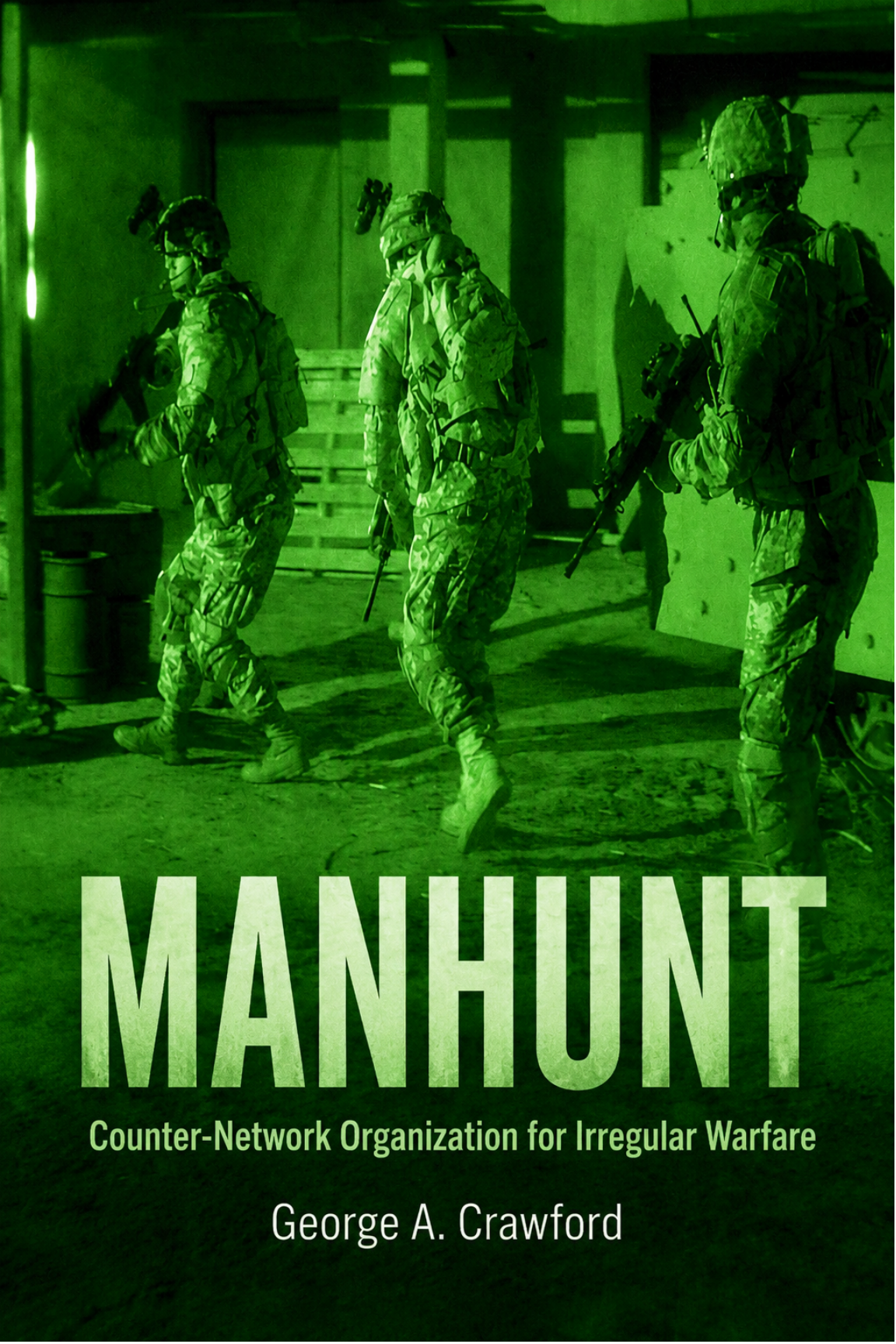

MANHUNT

Counter-Network Organization for Irregular Warfare

George A. Crawford

Joint Special Operations University and the Strategic Studies Department

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Manhunting: Counter-Network Organization for Irregular Warfare

George A. Crawford

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Foreword

In this JSOU monograph, George A. Crawford provides considerations for making manhunting a foundation of U.S. national strategy. He argues that a well-organized and centrally controlled manhunting capability would expand strategic options for national leaders as they advance U.S. national interests in a complex and unruly world.

Mr. Crawford's argument suggests that manhunting is an instrument of national power, if not a basic element such as diplomacy and economics. Thus manhunting effectiveness demands requisite organization and doctrine to ensure its effectiveness. The monograph offers the reader some ideas for organizing manhunting activities at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels.

Mr. Crawford envisions a national-level organization, much like the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) that would pull together the various skills needed for an organization with global reach. Contributing agencies might include Special Operations Forces, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U.S. Marshals Service, the Department of the Treasury, and more. But it took a long time for DHS (formed in 2001) to get up and running and it should be expected that a national manhunting agency would be a challenging organization to stand-up as well. The benefits of such an effort could be cogent policy direction, unified operational direction, and effective tactical formations. Of course this depends upon accepting the assertion that manhunting should be a central feature of U.S. national security strategy.

The intense search for Osama bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, and their ilk have been a prominent and consuming feature of our campaigns in Southwest Asia. Hunting for persons of national interest and high value targets has been emblematic of U.S. operations—direct action—whereas indirect methods such as foreign internal defense should have been seen as the main effort. Further, the direct action operations by our U.S. military have been superbly organized and executed, suggesting that we have about the right mix of organizations to do the job well.

In addition to the strategic argument for enhancing U.S. manhunting capabilities as outlined by his monograph, the author provides a wealth of information in the three appendices: a history of U.S. manhunting efforts, a

view of manhunting from other countries, and some examples of personnel recovery operations.

The monograph draws upon Mr. Crawford's earlier research, *Manhunting: Reversing the Polarity of Warfare*, and the excellent work of Steven Marks, Thomas Meer, and Matthew Nilson in their Naval Post Graduate School paper titled *Manhunting: a Methodology for Finding Persons of National Interest*. Mr. Crawford's excellent endnotes provide a wide array of source material and information. Whatever one's view of the importance of manhunting to national security policy, the reader will find Mr. Crawford's monograph interesting and informative reading.

Kenneth H. Poole
Director, JSOU Strategic Studies Department

About the Author

Mr. George A. Crawford is a senior director for Archimedes Global, Inc, where he is an adviser on strategic communication, counterterrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and other national security matters for a client in the Washington, D.C. area. He also conducts research focused on development of manhunting and counter-network capabilities to address growing challenges posed by state and nonstate actors, including terrorism, piracy, arms proliferation, organized crime, and other nefarious actors.

He received his B.A. in International Relations from the University of Kansas in 1985 and M.S. in Computer Applications Management from Lesley University in 1990. He also received a linguist certificate in Russian from the Defense Language Institute in 1992. He has served in the nation's most sensitive and trusted positions for over 25 years, with "boots-on-the-ground" operational experience ranging from hostile-fire zones in the Balkans, Central Asia, and Afghanistan to key intelligence command positions in the United States, Europe, and Asia. His experience includes operational assignments with special operations and special activities, intelligence collection and analysis, information operations and psychological operations, as a foreign area officer specializing in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, as acting Air and Defense Attaché to Kyrgyzstan, and ballistic missile launch officer. A trained interrogator, he was selected by the commander of United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) as an inspector for the Secretary of Defense Interrogation Special Focus Team. He transitioned from the U.S. Air Force in 2007, retiring as a lieutenant colonel.

Mr. Crawford has written many documents at both unclassified and classified levels, including intelligence reporting and recommendations that have been provided to the President, National Security Council, Congress, Intelligence Community, and Department of Defense leaders. He personally authored the intelligence plan for military operations in Kosovo and was the

lead strategist for developing USSOCOM's advanced intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities for counterterrorism operations. Mr. Crawford's unclassified papers have been published in American Intelligence Journal, Airpower Chronicle, and Spokesman. He is the author of *Manhunting: Reversing the Polarity of Warfare* (Publish America, 2008).

Manhunting: Counter-Network Organization for Irregular Warfare

Manhunting—the deliberate concentration of national power to find, influence, capture, or when necessary kill an individual to disrupt a human network[1]—has emerged as a key component of operations to counter irregular warfare adversaries in lieu of traditional state-on-state conflict measures. It has arguably become a primary area of emphasis in countering terrorist and insurgent opponents.

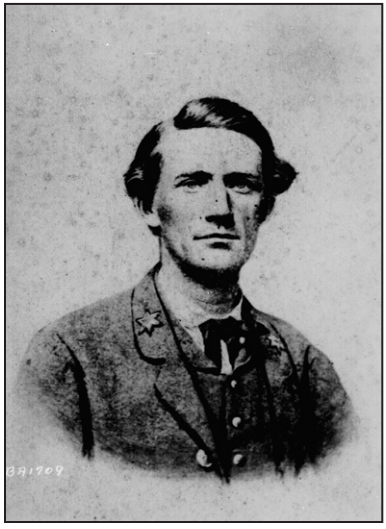
Despite our increasing employment of manhunting, our national security establishment has not developed appropriate doctrine, dealt with challenging legal issues, nor have we organized forces and assigned clear responsibility to deploy and employ these capabilities. Were we to do so, manhunting could become an important element of our future national security policy, as highly trained teams disrupt or disintegrate human networks. Formally adopting manhunting capabilities would allow the United States to interdict threats without resorting to the expense and turbulence associated with deployment of major military formations. Manhunting capabilities could play a central role in the implementation of U.S. national security strategy in the 21st century.

Nearly every week, the media announces that a terrorist or insurgent figure has been apprehended or killed. Manhunting operations appear to have become a generally accepted norm. Indeed, national power has been employed with increasing frequency as American policy sought to influence, capture, or kill individuals who posed a national security risk. The ongoing combat operations against Al Qaeda and Taliban extremists were not America's first attempt to interdict individuals with martial force. From colonial efforts to pacify Native American leaders, through today's efforts to combat terrorists and insurgents, America repeatedly found utility in using armed force to seek out key individuals and disrupt human networks.

This monograph reviews historical cases related to manhunting. The United States has employed manhunting since colonial days. American manhunting operations, however, have historically been ad-hoc affairs. Drawing on overviews of both American and international cases, the monograph derives lessons from a large number of historical manhunting operations. Building on these lessons, the monograph then explores potential doctrine, evaluates possible organizational structures, and examines how to best address the responsibility to develop manhunting as a capability for American national security.

Appendix A provides a synopsis of American operations through history that involved manhunting aspects. Historic government operations demonstrate that manhunting is not only a legitimate form of warfare, but has been taking place with accelerating frequency over the last three decades. The historical cases listed in Appendix A demonstrate that over 50 discrete manhunting operations have been conducted through American history, in addition to more than 25 significant campaigns waged in which manhunting was a key component of the operational mission.[2] Though recurring with some regularity, manhunting operations have historically been the exception rather than the norm. They were unique activities, often conducted in an ad-hoc fashion, for specific purposes in response to isolated events. For the last two decades, manhunting operations have increased in frequency at a near-exponential rate. There have been few efforts to institutionalize this emerging capability for our nation.

Manhunting operations are not exclusive to the United States; similar operations have been carried out at least since Alexander harried Darius III and Rome pursued Hannibal.[3] Appendix B provides a synopsis of historical



Confederate Colonel John S. Mosby. In 1863, his daring raid on the Fairfax Court House behind Union lines to capture Federal General E. H. Stoughton caused President Lincoln to lament, "*I don't mind the loss of a general, for I can make another in five minutes. But I hate to lose the horses.*" National Archives photo (civil-war-148).

manhunting operations conducted by other nations. This history includes assassinations of key leaders by governments. Appendix B demonstrates that many nations would have to seriously evaluate their own history before calling into question manhunting efforts by other nations. Appendix B also indicates other countries have manhunting experience that could benefit American national security planners who are considering these activities.

Appendix C lists historical American personnel recovery operations. In the case of kidnapping, hostage rescue, and in some prisoner-of-war cases, manhunting techniques have been employed to find and fix the captors in order to rescue the captive. Though the personnel recovery objective fundamentally differs from targets of manhunting operations, personnel recovery operations have similar tactics, techniques, and procedures to those employed for manhunting, with one key difference. While the target of a manhunt avoids being found, influenced, captured, or killed, the target of a personnel recovery operation seeks to be found and returned home. With this proviso, the history of personnel recovery operations may shed light on potential manhunting doctrine and organization.

Lessons Derived from Manhunting Operations

Given historic examples from Appendices A through C, what lessons can we derive for the success of future manhunting operations? Several trends are evident.

First, there is no substitute for knowledge of the target. Cultural, environmental, and linguistic expertise—especially the involvement of native experts—is crucial to the successful conclusion of a manhunting operation. Native scouts and allied forces fill crucial roles, providing the cultural bridge needed for successful operations. Native expertise is not necessarily a prerequisite. Daniel Boone not only gained frontier knowledge needed to track his daughter's captors for 2 days across the Kentucky wilderness; his cultural immersion was such that the Shawnee chief—whose own son Boone had killed in the pursuit—later adopted Boone as a surrogate son. Lieutenant Charles Bare Gatewood's knowledge and acceptance of Apache culture was important in pursuing and apprehending the Apache warriors Victorio and Geronimo. Thomas Tate Tobin's innate skill as a mountain man allowed him to find, fix, and finish the renegade Espinosa brothers whose

trail of theft and murder across Colorado in the 1860s earned their gang the name "Bloody Espinosas." Billy Waugh's persistence, knowledge of human character traits, and ability to establish an unobtrusive urban observation post allowed him to find and fix international terrorist Carlos the Jackal for later apprehension by French security forces. These four exemplify the potential for "outsiders" to acquire knowledge of a culture. The intelligence "analyst-hunters" who drove the successful apprehension of Saddam Hussein acquired the modern version of this expertise in a self-taught manner. Schooling can help, but nothing equates to experience gained through immersion in the culture and environment.

Second, persistence pays. Experts who dedicated themselves to the task in a cradle-to-grave manner have carried out the most successful manhunts. Again, the examples of Boone, Gatewood, Tobin, and Waugh are particularly instructive. Law enforcement "sting" operations provide similar examples. Most successful hunters stalk their quarry in a deliberate, patient manner, waiting for an opportunity to strike. Employment of lures, traps, blinds, and deception can augment the efforts of a persistent group of manhunters in a manner analogous to those who pursue game in the wild.[4] When the goal is to influence an opponent, the lures, traps, blinds, and other deception efforts may be more fine-tuned or nuanced; but the goal remains the same—to draw the opponents into an area where they can be successfully engaged.

Third, size matters. Throughout the history of manhunting operations, *small* teams have achieved the most effective results.[5] Rhodesian and South African tracker teams typically employed four men.[6] British Commonwealth tracker teams in the Malayan Emergency were similar in nature, often attaching native Iban and Dayak tribesmen to military elements. American Combat Tracker Teams in Vietnam comprised five to ten men. Modern command and control capabilities can help large organizations to achieve effective results; the capture of Saddam Hussein, Manuel Noriega, and Al Qaeda terrorists involved organizations of nearly a thousand people. It is simply more difficult to manipulate the levers of larger organizations in a manhunt because large organizations tend to be less agile than a single individual or small network. Even today, special operations, law enforcement,

and intelligence forces that achieve effective results are typified by small field elements, with a dedicated support infrastructure to provide intelligence, mobility, and firepower. Additionally, these operations often bypass bureaucratic stratification, allowing disparate elements to work in direct communication with one another.

Fourth, manhunting is a people- and process-oriented endeavor. In successful operations, technology played only a supporting role.[7] Similarly, the most effective manhunting operations are centered on people with the requisite skills, participating in a mutually understood process to achieve a clearly articulated goal. In some cases, while technology has enhanced this ability, technology has not been the most significant contributor to manhunting; even Predator unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) and Hellfire missiles are merely the respective investigative and lethal arms of a distributed organization, comprising people with a clear process, cued by intelligence. The primary role played by technology has been to extend the span and scope of sensory, mobility, and firepower capabilities and speed communications for the manhunting team.

Afghanistan, 2009. Interaction with the local population plays an important role in counter-network operations. Considering every citizen a sensor, an informed, alert civilian population can provide important tip-off information to locate key targets. U.S. Army photo.

Fifth, it is possible to assist active manhunting operations, complementing the offensive efforts with passive or reactive measures involving internal security services and the civil population. Law enforcement dragnets, internal security observers, and alert, informed citizens are an important element of manhunting. Be-on-the-lookout—or BOLO—alerts to law enforcement, press conferences, and shows like *America's Most Wanted* generate important tip-offs, leads, and information.[8] Cooperation from the indigenous population and internal security elements can generate important advantages. Iraq's Concerned Local Citizens groups and Awakening Councils exemplify this practice. Public Affairs, Civil Affairs, and Psychological Operations elements have a key role to play in this regard. Energizing the population can present a considerable challenge if a nation conducts manhunting operations where the population is either fearful of, or sympathizes with, the enemy network. Iraq and Vietnam are examples of areas where a population has been intimidated into not cooperating with allied forces. Pakistan, Afghanistan, and even portions of inner city America provide examples of populations who sympathize more with the terrorist or criminal than with those in pursuit.[9] Energizing internal security forces and the local populace should be considered an activity that complements active manhunting operations. If manhunting teams merely wait for a high-value target to raise his head, they may become bogged down in an endless *Whack-a-Mole* exercise, similar to the arcade game where a small animal momentarily pops up in a hole, and the player must hit the animal with a rubber mallet.[10]

Sixth, and perhaps the most important lesson, it is possible to employ nonlethal means in manhunting operations. All of a nation's resources can be brought to bear against an individual or a network.[11] The tools of national power include diplomatic, information, military, economic, financial, intelligence, and law enforcement (DIMEFIL) capabilities, all of which can be focused against an individual or human network. Employing these capabilities in sequence or in parallel against individuals and networks, with precise targeting and a means to verify intended effect, U.S. objectives might be achieved without resorting to violence.[12] Nonkinetic or soft-power options can disintegrate a network that supports an adversary. For example, rather than to capture or kill, the primary thrust of a manhunting operation may be to influence the support network, widening an existing seam

into a rift between the network and the high-value target. Incorporating nonlethal options has additional advantages. Because nonlethal methods are more palatable to policymakers, including influence capabilities when considering manhunting options extends the available conflict spectrum to encompass periods of relative peace and crisis, providing more time for intelligence collection and preemption to take place. This fact highlights the utility of manhunting as a national security alternative to open warfare or large-scale military intervention.

The proper timing and execution of nonlethal means could render lethal options unnecessary for a given adversary.

The proper timing and execution of nonlethal means could render lethal options unnecessary for a given adversary. CIA operations to remove Guatemala's Arbenz government in 1954 exemplify relatively low-cost, high-payoff influence efforts targeting a small network of foreign leaders.[13] The United States employed economic and financial sanctions against individuals to deter the Sudanese government from committing genocide in the Darfur region of Africa.[14] The 2008 rescue of Ingrid Betaincourt and three American hostages from Colombian terrorists was accomplished without bloodshed.[15] Including similar options in the formal capabilities portfolio reduces the human, financial, and resource cost of manhunting. Nonlethal options may become the preferred arm of manhunting, if leaders are made aware of capabilities and willing to address emerging national security problems at earlier stages of development.

Building a Manhunting Force for the Future

The United States has not yet established doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership, personnel, or facilities needed to field a manhunting capability as a means to achieve its national security ends. Eight years after the 9/11 attacks, significant elements of our national security establishment remain polarized toward conventional, force-on-force warfare in order to combat massed mechanized military formations in a linear battle. But our adversaries have adapted, employing asymmetric capabilities to circumvent conventional capability. Employing conventional capabilities in pursuit of high-value targets (HVTs) has proved to be a double-edged sword that can result in strategic setback through tactical achievement.[16] Despite this, America's modus operandi, at least that which has been revealed to the

media, has often been to hunt the terrorist mosquito with the conventional forces' elephant gun. A formal manhunting capability could reverse this polarity. The first step in building a manhunting force involves doctrine development.

One of the first steps in developing doctrine is to define the subject at hand. What is manhunting? According to the definition proposed at the beginning of this monograph, it is the deliberate concentration of national power to find, influence, capture, or when necessary kill an individual to disrupt a human network. As we examine the problem, *manhunting* refers not only to the ability to find an HVT.[17] The definition also includes the concept of tracking individuals until friendly forces can achieve a desired end-state: to influence HVT behavior, to apprehend the HVT, or where the threat or situation demands—to kill them. The definition places manhunting within the context of counter-network operations.[18] The proposed definition also allows the incorporation of nonlethal DIMEFIL elements of national power. Considering manhunting in the broadest sense also allows incorporation of doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership, personnel and facilities (DOTMLPF)-related activities that make manhunting possible.[19]

The Department of Defense (DoD) has not yet published a formal manhunting definition. In their graduate thesis and project, Majors Steve Marks, Tom Meer, and Matt Nilson provide the following definition of *manhunt*:

> An organized, extensive search for a person of national interest conducted as a special operation in hostile, denied, or politically sensitive environments that employ specialized military capabilities to identify, locate, neutralize, or capture designated individuals. Manhunts differ from typical surveillance, reconnaissance, and direct action missions by the degree and methods used to search for, investigate, and apprehend the targeted individual(s).[20]

Contrasting the term *person of national interest* (PONI) with HVT, the study points out that a PONI may not be high value, but may provide critical links or intelligence to find the HVT. In other words, while a terrorist might be an HVT, the PONI might be the person who schedules the terrorist's travel.

Marks, Meer, and Nilson have made an impressive start in the development of manhunting doctrine.[21] The three officers performed exhaustive

research and investigation to "… collate the best practices in the art of manhunting by drawing on expertise of individuals and agencies that excel at identifying, locating, and capturing fugitives." [22] Marks, Meer, and Nilson contrast traditional concepts of warfare between combatants—*find*, *fix*, and *destroy*—with the new strategic concepts forming the basis of manhunting. Rather than seeking the enemy for destruction, the fugitive seeks to evade capture, altering the manhunting engagement into a process of detection, exposure, and maneuver. While the friendly force seeks to apprehend the fugitive, the fugitive seeks to remain undetected and once detected, evade capture. Marks, Meer, and Nilson apply big-game hunting theory to manhunting, outlining potential tactics such as still hunting, stalking, calling, and trapping.[23] Last, the thesis outlines restrictions that force the manhunter and fugitive to conduct operations within certain limitations—for example, the legal system and political or administrative borders place limitations on the manhunter, which the fugitive can use to advantage.[24] By evaluating successful manhunting operations conducted by the U.S. Marshals Service, Federal Bureau of Investigation, private investigators and bounty hunters, Marks, Meer and Nilson form several conclusions about best practices. Many manhunts succeed on the basis of interagency collaboration, which often grants authority to leap across administrative and political boundaries.[25] Most successful manhunts also stress the value of information (especially knowledge of the area), the fugitive's behavior patterns, and "comfort zones." [26] Technology can assist the manhunt; with access to administrative databases, biometric or forensic identification, and automated artist rendition or "ageing" programs helping to identify the fugitive.[27] Most important for developers of doctrine, Marks, Meer, and Nilson point out that manhunting is first and foremost a mental pursuit, where in-depth collection and analysis of information will assist the pursuer. Pointing out that the DoD easily falls victim to viewing the terrorist network in conventional military terms—where analysts attempt to project the network within the "Cold War" military hierarchy framework rather than the flattened links and nodes of interpersonal relationships between radicals and criminals—they propose an analytic methodology for future manhunting operations.[28]

… manhunting is first and foremost a mental pursuit, where in-depth collection and analysis of information will assist the pursuer.

While no doctrine specifically addresses manhunting, existing doctrine does address related areas.[29] By drawing upon related doctrine and documenting best practices from current operations, it would be a relatively straightforward task to assemble manhunting doctrine for the DoD. While no published doctrine provides concepts for manhunting, there are organizations within federal, state, local, and allied governments with the expertise to combat terrorism and conduct successful manhunts. Manhunting practices are not only employed by the military; they are employed with even greater regularity and effect by law enforcement and intelligence organizations. Doctrine could also be derived through studying the rich number of examples from military history provided in Appendices A through C, identifying best practices and lessons learned in operations that involved aspects of manhunting or related activities. Since much expertise lies outside military circles, valuable information can be gleaned from law enforcement case studies. American doctrine will be well served through examining the promises and pitfalls of allied and adversary manhunting activities.[30]

Doctrinal models help share knowledge. Special Operations Forces (SOF) employed a model known by the acronym F4 or *Find, Fix, Finish, and Follow-Up*.[31] The F4 model was modified later to its present-day F3EA or *Find, Fix, Finish, Exploit* and *Analyze*, with an emphasis on the actions necessary to exploit information and personnel at the target site and analyze the results of the action to develop follow-on targets. The F3EA model takes into account the important fact that action taken against a terrorist target often produces more intelligence. In the Exploit phase, SOF question personnel captured or detained during a raid and collect documents or other items

Enabling a force to find, fix, finish, exploit and analyze (F3EA) information on a human network depends on the ability to provide an "unblinking eye" with persistent surveillance assets to provide signals intelligence (SIGINT) and imagery intelligence (IMINT) about a given geographic location, exemplified by this aerostat. DoD photo.

found at the location in a process known as *sensitive site exploitation*. In the Analyze phase, SOF work with intelligence experts to identify and pursue leads generated in the first three phases of the model. The intelligence gained often initiates the cycle again. A single raid may generate multiple "strings" for follow-up action. As more and more opportunities become available, the F3EA process cycle can propagate or "snowball" to the point where leaders must choose to exploit a few among many potentially lucrative opportunities based on limited operational resources or available time.

When compared with conventional force-on-force warfare, manhunting fundamentally alters the ratio between warfare's respective firepower, maneuver, and psychological elements. Firepower becomes less significant in terms of mass, while the precision and discretion with which firepower is employed takes on tremendous significance, especially during influence operations. Why drop a bomb when effects operations or a knife might do? Maneuver adopts new concept and form. In manhunting, friendly forces seek to engage the enemy. Like a lone insurgent, the enemy seeks to avoid the allied force, biding time until he has an opportunity to strike at vulnerable, unprotected, or noncombat assets. The psychological factor becomes more significant as well. Popular perception, heavily influenced by the media, has an impact beyond the immediate confines of the battlefield. A force can emerge from a battlefield with all objectives achieved, yet be perceived to have failed. The adversary may be perceived to have gained a victory by merely avoiding engagement and surviving. Information heavily influences firepower and maneuver. Precise information is critical for the employment of precise firepower. Reliable information also serves as a basis for maneuver to engage the enemy. In fact it might be said that the concept of maneuver expands into the information domain. In this domain, one adversary seeks information about the other, while denying the opponent information about friendly activity. Information and associated disciplines, including intelligence, communications, command and control, and public affairs play a much more significant role in manhunting operations.

Doctrine must also consider the policy and legal framework needed to carry out manhunting operations. Developing and adopting manhunting as a national security capability is a weighty policy issue. The first policy question is for the military, intelligence community, law enforcement, and industry: Is it possible to develop manhunting technology and capability? The answer is yes, if we focus and prioritize efforts. We have done so in the

past on numerous occasions. Current operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Horn of Africa, and the Philippines demonstrate we can do so effectively. Policy and lawmakers must address the second question: Should we develop this capability? This question has already been answered: not only should we, we have done so on an ad-hoc basis since our nation was formed. The real issue is whether we muddle through with ad-hoc capabilities, as we have to date, or formally institutionalize manhunting capability in order to carry out these operations well. The post-9/11 strategic environment makes it imperative to engage HVTs actively—to detect, deter, disrupt, detain, or destroy networks before they can harm innocents.[32]

Another important policy consideration is the realization that manhunting has implications and applications beyond the immediate need to combat terrorism. The ability to interdict individual human targets or to disintegrate human networks provides a key capability to combat threats posed by nonstate actors. Such a capability would also allow the United States to influence, apprehend, or neutralize key actors in an adversary state, reducing collateral damage to the general population. The United States attempted to achieve this goal against key state actors with success in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, and Bosnia. Potential applications for manhunting capabilities also include the following:

a. Counterproliferation
b. Counternarcotics
c. Persons indicted for war crimes (PIFWCs)
d. Countering organized criminal networks
e. Countering nonstate actors or corporations with interests inimical to those of the U.S.
f. Information operations (including the ability to neutralize networks of computer hackers or to target key influence networks for psychological operations)
g. Counterintelligence
h. Deterring and apprehending pirates.

From a legal perspective, it is essential to ensure that a manhunting capability is developed in a manner consistent with Constitutional concepts and international concerns. While legal professionals should be the final

arbiters for any of the observations that follow, it is worthwhile to explore the legal issues associated with manhunting.[33]

First, there is ample legal precedent to justify manhunting. Preemptive or preventive action, including lethal force, can be employed in order to prevent innocent loss of life. Law enforcement officers have historically employed lethal force to prevent deaths in hostage situations.[34] Military forces have repeatedly been employed to interdict terrorist hostage situations.[35] Legal policies to control acts of piracy on the high seas date back to ancient Rhodes.[36] Congress has Constitutional power to issue letters of marque and reprisal in order to seize persons or property.[37] Britain, France, and the United States issued these letters until the 1856 Declaration of Paris banned the practice.[38]

The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States governs search and seizure, including use of deadly force by law enforcement. The Supreme Court determined the Fourth Amendment does not apply to agents of the U.S. Government operating overseas against nonresident aliens.[39] The U.S. Supreme Court also established clear precedent regarding the use of deadly force within the United States.[40]

After the 9/11 attacks, Congress gave the President the authority to "… use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001 or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future actions of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations, or persons."[41] Unlike previous legislation authorizing the use of military force by the President, Congress authorized military force against *organizations and persons* linked to the 9/11 attacks on the United States. Prior to 9/11, Congress had permitted action against unnamed nations in specific regions of the world or against named individual nations, but never previously had Congress authorized use of force against organizations or persons.[42]

… never previously had Congress authorized use of force against organizations or persons.

Other nations have addressed legal aspects related to manhunting. Israel's Supreme Court ruled in 2006 that the Israeli government's targeted killing policy was legal, within certain specified constraints.[43] Manhunting is not limited to unilateral action; it has been employed on repeated occasions as

a coalition enforcement action. In 1815, the Congress of Vienna branded Napoleon Bonaparte an outlaw. The Quadruple Alliance—Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—agreed to enforce the 1814 Treaty of Chaumont, each nation pledging 150,000 men to oppose the Emperor's return from exile.[44] The United States and Mexico conducted a combined military operation to apprehend the Apache renegade Victorio in 1880.[45] More recently, coalition operations were employed to destroy the Taliban and Al Qaeda alliance and to overthrow Saddam Hussein and family.

The legal context within which to evaluate manhunting operations provides an area for concern and contention. After-action investigations of officer-involved shootings employ the perspective of reasonable officers at the scene as to whether deadly force was justified. This decision is a conscious one; American investigations deliberately avoid viewing the shootings with 20/20 hindsight, because it is believed that burdening officers with inflexible rules of engagement would endanger the safety and effectiveness of law enforcement organizations.[46] In contrast, the Israeli Supreme Court's ruling on the "justiciability" of targeted killing directed that an independent investigation should take place after each targeted killing.[47] The Israeli ruling appeared to call for a more stringent, independent investigation into target identification and the decision-making process, directing that recompense be provided in the event of error to compensate for collateral damage inflicted. Where follow-on investigations of targeted killing and manhunting are concerned, it would be wise to apply the standard suggested by the U.S. Supreme Court. A 20/20 hindsight standard in reviewing manhunting decisions made within strict time or information constraints could lead to overly restrictive standards, indecision, missed opportunities, and possible danger to friendly forces.

Still other legal issues center on the legal environment within which manhunting would be conducted. For example, do terrorism, narcotics trafficking, insurgency, and piracy constitute crimes or warfare? [48] Opinions differ among legal scholars.[49] If terrorism and piracy are crimes, precedent and procedures are well established for cooperative local, state, federal, and international prosecution of the perpetrators once they are identified and caught. But the onus is on law enforcement to prove a case and to articulate probable cause before initiating an investigation—conditions well understood and often exploited by criminal elements. If, as the Israeli Supreme Court determined, terrorist organizations and nation states exist

in a "continuous state of armed conflict of an international character," then international law and law of armed conflict apply to the situation.[50] If terrorism and piracy place us in a war of self-defense, we must consider whether the concepts of justice in going to war (*jus ad bellum*) and justice in the conduct of war (*jus in bello*) carry over to preventive or preemptive interdiction of HVTs and networks.[51] International law allows three situations as legal cause to go to war: self-defense, defense of an ally under a mutual defense pact, or when sanctioned by the United Nations. Theoretically, any war for another cause is considered illegal; those who engage in it could become subject to prosecution for war crimes.

Ethical considerations—distinct from legal issues—also come into play. On one hand, we do not want to adopt the standards of an enemy in order to defeat him. Combating terrorism, piracy, insurgency, and narcotics trafficking tempt the U.S. to abandon ideals the nation's founders and citizens hold dear. On the other hand, we must weigh the rights of innocent civilians against the rights of an adversary. From an ethical standpoint, protecting the greater population from harm should take precedence over the rights and liberties of an individual intent on murder. This issue often seems to be set aside in discussions of terrorism. The Israeli Supreme Court acknowledged that even terrorists are entitled to basic human rights.[52] However, one might make an ethical argument that, by engaging in hostile acts against civilians, the offender consciously departs from the norms of civilized behavior; a departure which carries with it an implicit acceptance of a quid-pro-quo: that the offender has tacitly rejected the protections afforded by the society from which he has departed.[53]

On one hand, we do not want to adopt the standards of an enemy in order to defeat him.

In prosecuting terrorists, insurgents, narcotics traffickers, or pirates, we must also take pains to avoid granting legitimacy or elevating individuals to mythic status (i.e., create a martyr). The Israeli Supreme Court determined a terrorist is a civilian who illegally participates in hostilities. At some point, we must consider whether engaging a terrorist with military force grants perceived legitimacy or elevates the terrorist in a way that arrest or engagement by law enforcement or intelligence forces would not. If we seek to avoid granting legitimacy through noble combat, it may prove beneficial that only nonmilitary forces engage individuals. One potential benefit can be illustrated through the following hypothetical cases: When a military force

crosses a sovereign international border to apprehend or kill a terrorist, the violation of territorial sovereignty could lead to conflict between countries. If a manhunting team deploys from and then retreats to the security of an American Embassy compound, the United States would be in severe breach of diplomatic protocol. If internal security forces arrest a terrorist, it is an act of law enforcement, most often viewed favorably by both the international and domestic communities. If a terrorist is killed in an alley by an unknown assailant, it is an unsolved crime, a crime which may not be deeply investigated if the terrorist has a lengthy rap sheet. Thus it may be preferable to consign terrorist manhunting to intelligence and law enforcement organs and to avoid entanglements caused by crossing manhunting with military or diplomatic functions. Where manhunting is concerned, there may be legal and moral advantage in ambiguity and plausible denial.[54]

Counter-network operations have generated concern regarding the restrictions and boundaries between the DoD intelligence performed under Title 10 of the United States Code and the national or interagency intelligence activities covered under Title 50. While many of these debates and concerns are legitimate, others are based in bureaucratic or political competition for power, influence, and resources. The Bush administration issued Executive Orders to clarify these relationships and strengthen the ability of both DoD and the Intelligence Community to conduct counterterrorist operations.[55] The 2004 Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act was the most sweeping change to governmental bureaucracy since the National Security Act of 1947 established the DoD and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). As he signed the bill into law, President Bush commented, "The many reforms in this act have a single goal: to ensure that the people in government responsible for defending America have the best possible information to make the best possible decisions." [56]

Another legal issue pertains to the employment of manhunting capability on United States territory. Most terrorist acts and the conspiracies leading up to the act are federal crimes whether committed during peacetime or in military operations. Federal, state, and local law enforcement have the domestic authority and mandate to investigate, preempt, and arrest individuals who violate the law or conspire to violate the law. It is widely but incorrectly believed that the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 prohibits the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps from performing any kind of police work or assisting law enforcement agencies.[57] Yet there are many

historic cases where military force has been employed domestically with popular support.[58] National Guard forces are authorized to conduct homeland defense activities under Title 32, United States Code.[59] Nonetheless, it is politically inadvisable to employ military force domestically unless law enforcement organizations are incapable of maintaining public safety. Domestically employing military or intelligence manhunting capabilities without appropriate safeguards will be perceived as a "big brother" threat to individual liberties, opposed through special interest group court actions and the media.[60] It is certainly beneficial for military, intelligence, and law enforcement communities to share legally obtained information, exchange observers and to confer or train together on tactics, techniques, and procedures. To address the need to balance national security against individual liberties and democratic ideals, President Bush appointed a President's Board on Safeguarding Americans' Civil Liberties.[61] Many of the reforms undertaken to date fell short of what was desired either by the Bush administration or Congress.[62] This is a fundamental aspect of democratic systems—no side ever gets everything it wants. In providing security for our citizens, leaders are well served to remember Thomas Jefferson's admonition on the matter: "I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty than to those attending too small a degree of it." Indeed, individual liberty presents such a threat; violent extremists often go to great lengths to snuff out its flame.

Organizational Structure

How should the United States organize to conduct manhunting operations? As Appendices A and B demonstrate, manhunting has historically been an ad-hoc affair. Manhunting took place in spite of federal, state, and local organization rather than because of it. America's stratified bureaucracy often impedes the successful conduct of interagency missions. Elements currently engaged in manhunting activities are subordinate to agencies and departments, each of which must juggle many other competing interests. This state of affairs inhibits manhunting function. According to a former counterterrorism official, CIA operations officers between May 1998 and May 1999 provided the U.S. government with two chances to capture Osama bin Laden using agency assets and eight chances to kill him using U.S. military forces.[63] For various reasons, the United States was unwilling or unable

to seize these opportunities, or as reflected in Appendix A, missed killing bin Laden by a short period of time. Manhunting is an endeavor of fleeting opportunity in which stratification and bureaucratic decision-making compound the probability of failure.

When conducting counter-network operations on a global scale, it is necessary to carry out activities at tactical, operational, and strategic levels. At the tactical level, it is important to organize forces so that they are best aligned to engage and subdue the enemy. The operational level combines tactical actions into campaigns to defeat networks. The strategic level of a manhunting organization is responsible for orchestrating all of the elements of national power against the enemy, with impact spanning a period of years or decades. Strategic manhunting capabilities must be aligned at three levels: a) departmental or interagency, b) national, and c) international organizations must coordinate and deconflict multiple efforts, bringing each organization's capabilities to bear for best advantage.

Aviano AB, Italy. Italian Carabinieri (paramilitary police) seize a high value target (HVT) during a joint training exercise with U.S. Air Force security police. The ability to conduct operations in concert with allied internal security forces will be crucial to counter-network and manhunting operations in semipermissive environments. U.S. Air Force photo.

Marks, Meer, and Nilson concluded that small five-to-seven member teams are the most effective tactical organization for manhunting.[64] They also proposed a conceptual model for a manhunting organization. In their model, the small teams would report to a director and be supported by an operational research group and a technical support group. They emphasize the necessity to empower any organization's manhunting teams to work closely with interagency counterparts, combining the differing interagency perspectives and experience to achieve synergistic effect.

There are many historic examples of successful tactical organizations from which organizational planners can develop a model team concept. In the United States, these include the United States Marshals Service (USMS), DoD elements, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Hostage Rescue Team (HRT), Computer Emergency Response Teams (CERTs), USMS Special Operations Group, or Nuclear Emergency Search Teams at the federal level, down to Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams and fugitive or criminal task forces in most major U.S. cities.[65] Europe fields teams that founded the elite unit concept, most notably Britain's Special Air Service (SAS) Regiment, Special Boat Service (SBS) and Special Reconnaissance Regiment (SRR).

In addition to these are the lesser-known law enforcement teams, including New Scotland Yard's Antiterrorist Branch (SO13); German Grenzschutzgruppe (GSG)-9, and French Groupe de Sécurité et d'Intervention de la Gendarmerie Nationale (GIGN). Elite units are not confined to America and Western Europe. Israel fields some of the most capable elements, including Sayaret Mat'kal, a special reconnaissance unit within Israel's General Headquarters Intelligence Corps. Poland's Grupa Reagowania Operacyjino Mobilnego (GROM) and Russia's Alpha and Beta groups are among the most fit and experienced soldiers in the world.

Most nations have formed elite units to deal with potential internal security situations, including terrorism. In the most successful tactical organizations, an alternative, streamlined chain of command allows direct responsiveness to national-level leaders. Due to time constraints and fleeting opportunities, the command structure should also employ preapproved mission-type orders, with delegation of authority to on-scene commanders. Trust between on-scene commanders and geographically separated leadership is an essential element of tactical mission success.

Several different tactical formations would be needed to successfully conduct manhunting operations. The four tactical-level formations or teams follow:

a. **Manhunting teams** would be—as put forth by Marks, Meer, and Nilson—a specialized interdisciplinary and interagency force, dedicated to the pursuit of a single individual.[66] Manhunting teams would be trained to interact with federal, regional, and local law enforcement or internal security forces to track and apprehend human targets, wherever they might be. The teams would include a collage of experts with the individual skill sets drawn from several manhunting-related disciplines existing within the defense, law enforcement, and intelligence communities.[67] They would be trained in physical, intelligence, and virtual-tracking techniques. The team will also include "shooters," supported by on-call logistics and administrative support. Rather than an ad-hoc task force in the nature of the current law enforcement, Intelligence Community, or DoD operations, manhunting teams would be standing formations, trained to pursue their designated quarry relentlessly for as long as required to accomplish the mission. In cases where action must take place in uncooperative countries, it may be necessary for teams to act unilaterally, with no support or coordination with local authorities, in a manner similar to that employed by Israel's Avner team in response to the Munich Olympics massacre.[68]
b. **Sensitive site exploitation (SSE) teams** are the second tactical formation needed for manhunting. Dedicated teams must be assembled, able to respond "on-call" in the event of a raid on a suspect site or to conduct independent "break-in and search" operations without leaving evidence of their intrusion. While the law enforcement and intelligence community may have this capability on-call, the government should establish formal, standing SSE teams. Individual skills include physical forensics, computer or electronic exploitation, document exploitation, investigative techniques, biometric collection, interrogation/debriefing and related skills. As with manhunting teams, SSE teams would combine individual forensic skills in order to obtain as much information in as little time as possible and rapidly pass it for analysis.

c. **Technical surveillance elements (TSE) or mobile surveillance teams (MST).** Manhunting will require personnel who are experts at conducting surveillance of particular facilities, personnel, or activities without arousing suspicion or being detected. While these capabilities exist with law enforcement, special operations, and the Intelligence Community, the requirement will be much more robust. The British Security Service (MI5) includes MSTs—also known as "watchers"—whose sole expertise is conducting surveillance.[69] In contrast to special operations personnel who are selected for high standards of physical fitness, surveillance personnel will be recruited and trained for their ability to observe key details, to remain alert during periods of inactivity, and spring into action when required. They will be taught to blend in unobtrusively into an urban or remote background, often "hiding in plain sight." Some may be skilled at employing technical surveillance devices—wiretaps, video surveillance equipment, or more intrusive devices and methods. They will also be skilled at multiple forms of transportation across international boundaries. Their goal is to maintain surveillance on suspected activity, either confirming or denying hostile intent. Picture in your mind a typical city street scene, with a little old lady walking her dog, the phone repair crew descending into a manhole, two little old men playing an innocent game of checkers, or the homeless person sleeping on the park bench, and you are on the right track. For remote areas, the shepherd, a nomadic clan on camelback, or a jungle tribe might be enlisted to serve as a surveillance element. For personal safety and security reasons, MSTs and TSEs should be separate formations from manhunting and SSE teams because the exposure of an MST or TSE to the enemy might be prolonged, with higher individual risk. An MST or TSE might also be tailored to operate in a certain region by selecting personnel who would blend with the native population.

d. **Coalition training teams** would dedicate tactical-level experts to instruct coalition partners in manhunting tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTP). In some cases, it might be necessary to limit training to those capabilities we would not want to have used against the United States or its allies. Therefore, coalition training must include a vetting process to ensure training is employed as intended, and not

> for illicit purposes. By training and helping partner nations to police their own internal security, the world will gradually shrink the areas nefarious human networks can consider safe havens. Shrinking the under-governed or over-governed areas will narrow the space in which our forces will have to find, fix, and finish the enemy.

Tactical organization models include those employed by intelligence agencies, organizing activities by *stations*. A station chief—or *rezident* in the Slavic intelligence model—leads each station. In the operational concept for most intelligence agencies, stations are geographically oriented.[70] Similar stations exist in law enforcement and diplomatic security organizations. Intelligence officers assigned to each station establish relationships with host-nation counterparts, enabling the station to exchange information with the local government. The station concept also results in officers who are intimately familiar with the geographic, environmental, linguistic, and cultural idiosyncrasies associated with a particular area. The station concept conveys several advantages. Due to the relationships and access with the host nation, it is often possible to achieve economy of force; the HVT might be apprehended or interdicted by tipping off the host nation to his or her presence. Likewise, the station provides a base of operations for unilateral action, where necessary. Specialist teams or technicians temporarily augment the station as needed to perform critical tasks, allowing the parent organization to husband its most critical skill sets with greater efficiency. The weakness in geographic organization is that fugitives and terrorists are able to exploit administrative, political, and geographic boundaries or seams that inhibit interaction between stations. To address this issue, some stations have also been functionally oriented.[71]

Leaders might combine the best attributes of both regional and functional organization. Functionally organized manhunting teams focused on a single HVT could fold in on geographically organized regional stations, each with several subordinate MSTs or TSEs intimately familiar with the region, in coordinated pursuit of a designated HVT. The station might include an on-call regional SSE or in some cases a dedicated local SSE that could deploy to the station when an operation reached the stage where exploitation might take place. Due to limited or fleeting exploitation opportunities, SSE teams should not be more than a day away from any given station and should be included at the earliest possible point in operational planning. The stations

would facilitate the manhunting task force's operations, assisting the team in its interaction with host-nation authorities. If the HVT evaded the authorities within a given country by crossing administrative or political boundaries, the manhunting team could engage in "hot pursuit," falling in on another station responsible for their destination. Federal and international law enforcement task forces have employed this organizational structure with success.

A degree of "cover" may be necessary to protect the U.S. operatives or to preserve an often-necessary domestic or international public posture that downplays host-government cooperation with the United States. We can anticipate that U.S. forces would be forced to function in three basic operational environments.

a. *Permissive* environments—where the United States can openly cooperate with allies—would allow an open American presence.
b. *Semipermissive* environments—where U.S. personnel are operating in cooperation with the host nation, but for reasons of security or public consumption, it is necessary to mask the U.S. presence—would require U.S. personnel to operate in a low-visibility or covered status.
c. *Nonpermissive* environments—where the host nation is unwilling or unable to cooperate with the United States or is openly hostile to U.S. presence—would require some sort of clandestine or covert capability.

The operational level also poses challenges for manhunting. At the operational level, an organization must be concerned with the overall campaign against the human network or networks. The operational challenge is to choreograph multiple manhunts, which is needed for several reasons. First, multiple uncoordinated manhunts against the same network could lead to fratricide. For example, if one manhunt were discovered prematurely, the resulting security clampdown might inhibit other ongoing manhunting operations. Second, operational-level leaders would be responsible for minimizing duplication of effort, employing the overall force to greatest effect. Third, the operational leadership must keep the eye on the ball. If the goal of a manhunting operation is to deter, deny, deceive, disrupt, disintegrate, or destroy an entire network, it might not be worthwhile to apprehend a lower ranking individual simply because apprehending the "low-hanging fruit"

is easier and provides quick success. Operational-level functions would be most efficient if organized geographically by region, with a given operational element in charge of three-to-four related planned or ongoing manhunts.

The organizational construct at the operational level must strike a balance between administration and function. This balance has been done with varying degrees of success; healthy tension often exists between functional and administrative control elements. Operational-level commands are traditionally organized along regional, cultural, or functional lines. This level of command may also involve establishment of subordinate task forces that are regionally or functionally focused.

Because a small manhunting force might be able to directly engage a human network during peacetime, manhunting may provide an opportunity to reduce the U.S. government footprint forward. A permanent manhunting presence in a given area may make a major military or government force deployment unnecessary. Several key functions would be essential for successful operational-level activity:

a. **Leadership**. Leaders at the operational level set the course for three to four manhunting task forces. Their staffs will assess target and network strengths and vulnerabilities, develop appropriate campaign plans, coordinate and deconflict manhunting plans, and then translate those plans into action through collaboration.
b. **Intelligence analysis, collection management, and targeting.** Operational level processes begin with intelligence on the adversary capabilities with granular focus to mitigate enemy threats and exploit enemy vulnerabilities. Good analysis "presents the enemy" to leaders, planners, and execution elements. Collection managers work with analysts, targeting experts, decision makers, planners, and operations personnel, guiding multidisciplinary intelligence collection to fill key gaps in our knowledge of the enemy or to plan follow-up exploitation actions. Targeteers identify key nodes in the enemy network and identify operational effects to be achieved by affecting HVTs critical to that network.
c. **Planning.** Orchestrating broad campaigns combines science with art. It requires skilled personnel experienced in the capabilities and limitations of operational interagency and coalition forces. Planning is a continuous process. Planners must take into account every

factor—intelligence on the enemy, intelligence on local or regional allies and internal security forces, operational capabilities, weather, terrain, logistics, communications and other essential ingredients—combining these into a coherent operational script. Planners must be able to clearly communicate the leader's intent in a way easily understood by execution elements. They will oversee training and execution, adjusting plans as the situation dictates.

d. **Operational-level support functions.** Those who will administer the manhunting forces, provide supplies and transportation, medical care, budget, communications, and other services must do so quickly and provide short-notice support where the situation dictates. Department, agency or service liaisons with critical skill sets (personnel, logistics, training, intelligence) might also be required.[72] Logistics must expedite global movement of tactical and operational elements on short notice. In the manhunt, finding those with the appropriate sense of urgency and dedication in key support roles will be as important as fielding the tactical force.
e. **Systems administration and training.** Collaborative systems will tie together a worldwide force engaged in transnational pursuits. Systems developed and deployed to meet manhunting requirements must be accompanied by thorough training and systems administration. Training and exercises should incorporate the use of operational systems to ensure the advantage of new technology is realized through new business processes. Training and certification for SSE teams, TSEs, and MSTs might also include the employment of latest surveillance equipment. Liaison and CTT personnel must be familiar with setup, operation, and protection of secure communications equipment, language translation, and interpretation.

There is historic precedent for operational-level organizations.[73] The British Special Operations Executive (SOE), U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS), and Allied Intelligence Bureau (AIB) in World War II managed the deployment of teams to conduct strategic, clandestine missions in Europe, the Pacific, and South America. SOE, OSS, and AIB had dedicated regional logistics support, including civilian watercraft, ground transport, and aircraft. SOE and OSS often conducted cooperative missions with French, Yugoslav, and Greek resistance forces. They organized escape networks for

downed aircrew and allied POWs. In a similar arrangement, the Military Assistance Command—Vietnam, Special Operations Group (MAC-V SOG) controlled interagency special activities in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam conflict (1965-1973). Multiple standing Joint Interagency Task Forces have been established to direct regional counternarcotics operations.

Intelligence will play a critical role in all aspects of manhunting, blurring the traditional lines between what constitutes *intelligence* and *operations*. The most effective efforts have integrated analytic, collection, and operational execution elements into cohesive teams. Human intelligence (HUMINT), signals intelligence (SIGINT), near real-time imagery intelligence (IMINT) including full-motion video (FMV), and measurement and signatures intelligence (MASINT) unattended sensors and biometrics collection will prove especially valuable to manhunting. The ability to rapidly task, process, exploit, and disseminate information collection and intelligence analysis will play an important role in success. The Distributed Common Ground System (DCGS) fuses multidisciplinary intelligence collection and analysis with operations; a collaborative system based on DCGS would ensure *actionable* intelligence gets to tactical teams within operationally viable timelines.[74]

Like the operational community, the Intelligence Community forms

Iraq. Biometric scanner stores identification data for a new employee. Biometrics technology can collect, store, and rapidly compare identification data. Counter-network operations are a people- and process-oriented endeavor; technology can only serve a supporting role. U.S. Army photo.

special task forces to focus on key issues. The CIA's Counterterrorism Center (CTC) is a dynamic organization that combines analytic and operational capability under a single chain of command with significant success. Defense Intelligence Agency established a Joint Intelligence Task Force for Counterterrorism (JITF-CT) to focus defense analysis for the operational

level, and Joint Intelligence Operations Centers to focus regional collection and analysis.[75]

The law enforcement community also provides numerous examples of operational-level organizations to coordinate the efforts of multiple tactical elements. These include the Australian Terrorist Tracking Unit, the British International Extradition Unit at New Scotland Yard, and the FBI's National Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF), or the Fairfax County Regional Intelligence Center (RIC) in the Washington D.C. suburbs. An examination of the best practices from these and similar bodies will be most useful in designing the operational-level organizational construct.

Strategic-level organization is also essential for victory. Several other important functions must take place at the strategic level:

a. **Leadership.** Limited training is available to orient senior leaders toward strategic and operational-level issues associated with planning and executing manhunting campaigns. Leaders and managers must facilitate the collaborative process between geographically separate entities, yet avoid hindering the collaborative effort. Leaders must understand both manhunting capabilities and the limitations associated with manhunts. Senior leaders must also be attuned to what not to do as a strategic leader. A strategic leader who focuses on tactical issues or minutiae can paralyze an organization. Senior leader seminars should focus on the issues that a decision maker will confront, provide realistic timelines for decisions, and include discussion facilitated by mentors who have real-world expertise in these areas.
b. **Information operations.** The key objective in war is to cause the enemy to lose heart—to want an end to the fighting. This objective is especially challenging when facing an enemy who regards martyrdom as liberation. Manhunting can only succeed with an informed, alert public and a demoralized opponent. Where manhunting is concerned, influence activities must discourage public support of target networks, disrupt hostile networks, or cause the network to take action that would allow members to be captured or killed. Many leaders regard information operations as an ancillary capability—an afterthought to be "scabbed" onto operations at the last minute. Influence must be planned as a core line of operations against an enemy—a primary strategic thrust in achieving victory. It must be delicately woven into

planned kinetic operations to increase the probability that a given operation or campaign will achieve its intended effect. Personnel skilled at conducting strategic information operations—to include psychological operations, public information, deception, media and computer network operations, and related activities—are important for victory. Despite robust DoD and Intelligence Community capabilities in this area, efforts to establish organizations that focus information operations have not been viewed as a positive development by the public or the media, who perceive government-sponsored information efforts with suspicion.[76] Consequently, these efforts must take place away from public eyes. Strategic information operations may also require the establishment of regional or local offices to ensure dissemination of influence packages and assess their impact. Thus manhunting influence may call for parallel or independent structures at all levels, mirroring that of the operational manhunting elements. Britain's World War II Political Warfare Executive and London Controlling Section, the American Office of War Information, and the OSS Morale Operations group provide examples for influence operations.

c. **International liaison.** Successful counterterrorism operations require significant liaison investment to enhance communication. International liaisons will need to be established in key nations to facilitate intelligence, law enforcement, military, and diplomatic cooperation. While U.S. embassies already have established many of these relationships, the high operations tempo of manhunting demands the dedication of a full-time staff. The personnel must be taught to operate with autonomy, yet to keep key personnel in both the U.S. and host-nation governments informed of developments. Specialized training should focus on those personnel who will serve in strategic-level liaison roles with allied governments. An overarching liaison preparatory course, similar in nature to the training currently provided for State Department's Foreign Service officers or the Defense Attaché Service, but tailored toward manhunting cooperation, would serve this purpose. The training must also include instruction in cross-cultural communication, language, cultural background, and the bureaucratic processes in not only the host nation but also those U.S. government organizations toward which the liaison will build bridges.

d. **Planning, programming, and budget** must field personnel and equipment for manhunting in time to be relevant to the missions being performed. Winning the resource battles inside the Washington D.C. beltway is just as necessary as manhunting activities. Dedicated preparatory courses should be established to prepare those involved in the planning, programming. and budget processes for essential roles. These courses should also provide education to prepare key staff officers to assist Congress in its oversight roles.
e. **Systems development and acquisition.** Counter-network operations require specialized technology. A cadre of experts familiar with the development and acquisition of manhunting technology must anticipate and respond to the needs of those fighting the enemy. This cadre must also interact effectively with planning, programming, and budget personnel for resource planning and with operations and support personnel whose needs they will address.

Manhunting also requires strategic focus, which is often a challenge for the nation. Counterterrorism is an example. The U.S. government splits authority and responsibility for ongoing overseas contingency operations against violent extremists among multiple agencies. The National Security Council and its Director for Combating Terrorism develop and manage the interagency framework for combating terrorism overseas. This framework consists of presidential directives, national strategies, and related guidance.[77] For example, the National Security Council coordinated the overall National Security Strategy of the U.S., while the Director for Combating Terrorism coordinated the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism. There are other national-level strategies related to combating terrorism. Examples of these include the National Strategy for Homeland Security and the National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction. The various strategies were developed for specific and separate purposes. A general hierarchy exists among these overlapping strategies.[78] The strategies do not easily lend themselves to action.

Specific roles played by federal organizations and agencies comprise another element in the interagency framework for combating terrorism overseas. Some play a coordinating role. Others serve a lead role in specific areas. Many others have support roles for specific activities. Some agencies have leaders designated to direct or coordinate their agencies' terrorism-

related programs. In addition, individual agencies have their own strategic plans or develop interagency plans and related guidance for specific functions.[79] Confusion has occurred within departments. Former Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld designated United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) as the lead combatant command responsible for synchronizing DoD efforts.[80] USSOCOM was tasked to lead, plan, synchronize, and as directed, execute global operations against terrorist networks.[81] This new role placed USSOCOM in a bureaucratic struggle with other organizations both inside and outside the DoD and placed military personnel into new roles and missions that some believe blurred the lines between traditional military activity and covert operations.[82] In May 2008 new USSOCOM leaders clarified their role, preferring a consultative approach more in keeping with the leadership style of Secretary of Defense Robert Gates.[83]

The Bush administration also consolidated efforts to protect the territorial United States, referred to as *the homeland*. Establishing the Office of Homeland Security by Executive Order on 8 October 2001, former Governor Tom Ridge had a broad mandate to develop a national strategy; detect terrorists before they could strike; oversee preparedness to recover from an attack—also known as *consequence management*; prevent attacks in coordination with federal, state and local organizations; protect critical infrastructure including communications, energy, and transportation networks; and oversee response and recovery activities in the wake of a terrorist attack.[84] In 2002 Congress passed the Homeland Security Act, which established the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).[85] DHS consolidated those portions of federal organizations that had a role in protecting the nation from terrorist threat; all or portions of 21 agencies were resubordinated under DHS. The DHS report card has been mixed to date. Consolidating so many organizations and bureaucracies with disparate resources and cultures under DHS leadership proved challenging.[86] But quiet successes have also thwarted at least 10 major terrorist plots since 9/11.[87]

While the DHS was created to consolidate agencies involved in combating terrorism within the territorial United States, no similar realignment action has been taken for those government organizations tasked to carry out counter-network activities overseas. Progress has been slow. The DoD only recently placed irregular warfare on an equal footing with conventional combat.[88] The Intelligence Community endured 14 major reform or reorganization efforts since 1947, four of which resulted in varying degrees

of success.[89] Recent realignment and reform efforts within agencies have addressed particular symptoms of the condition, yet no strategic-level realignment has occurred.

Despite all of these measures, and the years that have passed since the 9/11 attacks, the U.S. Government has not appointed a single authority to oversee the campaign against Al Qaeda terrorists. One might argue that the President constitutes that authority; however, as head of the Executive Branch, the President must also concern himself with other matters.

Organizations that address manhunting are not functionally aligned. Many are buried deeply within stratified bureaucracies. As Marks, Meer, and Nilson point out:

> The fundamental question concerning manhunting is whether the United States Government (USG) is properly organized to conduct manhunts? Currently, the USG has no central organization that oversees manhunting. Apprehending fugitives has never been a core competency of either the DoD or any of the intelligence agencies. Traditionally, apprehending individuals has been considered a law enforcement function. However, criminal cases are manpower intensive, so most criminal investigations focus on collecting evidence to issue arrest warrants. Furthermore, the suspects in most criminal cases are concerned not with running from justice, but with concealing their connection to the alleged crime. This dynamic has prevented the law enforcement community from developing a centralized organization responsible for all fugitive manhunts. Currently, the the attorney general tasks the U.S. Marshals Service as lead agency for conducting many of the USG's fugitive investigations, but not all. Due to the lack of a centralized oversight body, the USG has not clearly defined the duties and responsibilities between various governmental agencies. Since manhunting is an important aspect in the war on terror, the USG has multiple agencies expanding their jurisdictions past traditional organizational roles.[90]

Should such a consolidation take place? *Unity of command* is the first principle of military leadership–and an overseas contingency operation is substantially a martial endeavor. Many have argued that *unity of effort* can replace the concept of unity of command—that multiple, independent

organizations united by a common vision or interest can succeed. This premise is certainly true of the business world. The evolutionary trend toward collaborative command and control is certainly a step in this direction. But historical experience has shown that democracy can be outpaced by autocracy; the rapid decisions often demanded in war can be made more quickly by dictators than assemblies. During war even democracies shift toward benevolent autocracy. This phenomenon is best illustrated by the American experience with Presidents Lincoln and Roosevelt, or by Great Britain under Cromwell, Lloyd-George, or Churchill. Despite much documentation and public discourse, the nation has yet to adopt a shared vision of the threat or the means by which that threat should be addressed.

The task for policymakers and organizational experts is to align departmental and agency functions to best focus manhunting capabilities to ensure national security. A primary goal of realignment or reorganization should be to create a clear and efficient "pipeline" to develop and produce manhunting capabilities for our nation. In addition, agency or departmental elements should serve the following functions:

a. Train, organize, equip, and field military, intelligence, diplomatic, and economic elements
b. Coordinate interagency cooperative efforts
c. Monitor readiness of fielded forces to execute mission
d. Write doctrine and develop tactics, techniques, and procedures
e. Sustain and refurbish fielded forces
f. Monitor and promote qualified individuals to leadership and key staff positions.

Certainly a single dedicated organization would enhance these activities. At the interagency level, combining elements of the following agencies and organizations could form the basis of a highly effective national manhunting capability:

a. USSOCOM, subordinate elements and Theater Special Operations Commands (TSOCs)
b. Defense Intelligence Agency, Defense Human Intelligence Service and JITF-CT
c. CIA, National Clandestine Service (NCS) and CTC

d. National Security Agency
e. FBI, Counterterrorism Division and FBI Academy
f. United States Marshals Service (USMS)
g. Department of Treasury, Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FINCEN)
h. DHS, Federal Law Enforcement Training Center.

In contrast to the glacial progress of national affairs, the international community moves at a tectonic pace, and counterterrorism is an example. Although the United Nations has 13 Conventions on Terrorism, they have not yet adopted a comprehensive treaty on terrorism, nor have member states agreed on a definition of *terrorism*.[91] The failure to conclude a standard international agreement leaves loopholes to be exploited by terrorists and their supporters or sympathizers, creating barriers to enforcement of counterterrorism policy. Lack of agreed-upon standards also imposes barriers to successful manhunting operations. International action should move beyond United Nations declarations, conventions, and reports. During World War II, the Allies held conferences to set strategy for defeating the Axis powers.[92] A similar international venue might create vehicles to formalize coalition manhunting activities.

The international community requires a more active and decisive coalition body to coordinate world efforts toward a common vision that will address the threat posed by 21st century nonstate actors. It is not necessary that all countries in the world be accepted into this organization; however, as a basis for membership, any country should be required to renounce in word and deed specific activities including terrorism, piracy, organized criminal activity or illicit trafficking as means to achieve political ends. A standing or ad-hoc organization comprised of representatives from all willing international participants is required to coordinate civilization's response to the threat presented by radical extremism and nonstate actors. A strategic-international organization could be facilitated by a treaty-level document or accord that would allow enforcement of international manhunting-related law. A model organization should perform several functions:

a. Achieve allied consensus on strategy.
b. Determine where to focus priority international efforts.
c. Decide how to employ DIMEFIL solutions in given situations.

d. Coordinate international resources dedicated to the issue.
e. Facilitate international cooperation for strategic, operational, and tactical echelons.
f. Draft treaties and accords to place legal constraints and consequences on nonstate actors or to codify agreements between nations.

Western governments might create a 21st century combined analog to the World War II Allied Intelligence Bureau to field a force dedicated to conduct clandestine strategic manhunting operations, with operations extending from North Africa across the Middle East and Southwest Asia to Southeast Asia. Spanning the Islamic Crescent, forces would focus on activities including manhunting, sensitive site exploitation, low-visibility liaison with internal security forces in allied nations, intelligence collection, and information operations to subvert extremist networks, sabotage terrorist infrastructure, and erode active or tacit support for terrorism. The force would permit allied nations to engage in offensive action against nonstate networks in denied areas and outside combat zones. This organization could also form the basis for international security and cooperation in a post-war environment. Key leaders from OSS, SOE, and SIS eventually rose to influential positions in post World War II western governments, including such notables as William Casey and William Colby. It is logical to conclude that key leaders from overseas contingency operations to disintegrate human networks would rise to equally influential positions in post-conflict circles.

Manhunting's Implications for Future National Security

Over the past 20 years, the United States has greatly expanded its willingness and capability to target individuals and human networks through manhunting. A review of Appendix A reflects this accelerating trend. Advancements in intelligence and technology made precision engagement a reality in the last two decades of the 20th century. In the wake of the September 2001 Al Qaeda terrorist attacks, American policymakers became more willing to address nonstate threats and to authorize preemptive manhunting action. Since 2001, American manhunting operations have become so prevalent that it is now difficult to maintain situational awareness of the number of ongoing interagency or international manhunts taking place at any given

time. Our increasing willingness and ability to employ manhunting has significant implications for American national security.

First, our national leaders no longer have to be tied to Wellington's aristocratic notion that "it is not the business of generals to shoot at one another."[93] For the first time in human conflict, political willingness to consider preemptive action against an individual or network offers national security planners the option of bypassing force-on-force engagement. In the battle of the future, America's national security apparatus might specifically affect the root cause of a problem—an individual leader or the network of key people who surround him. In any future conflict where America is threatened by a network of individuals, it is theoretically possible to identify and target the key nodes in that human network, wielding all elements of national power—diplomatic, intelligence, military, economic, financial, information, and law enforcement—in order to disintegrate the targeted network. If the network of individuals cannot function, their cumulative effort loses coherence and is rendered impotent. The components of the network then become vulnerable to nonlethal influence or physical attack.

Second, national security policy based on manhunting doctrine has the potential to counter the entire spectrum of likely adversaries and enemies America will face in the coming century. At the turn of the 20th century, monarchies fought without success to suppress the rise of popular nation states. In the 21st century, western nation states increasingly confront groups of nonstate actors, whose interests conflict with those of civilized society.[94] Today we are seeing "state versus state warfare" transition toward "state versus nonstate actors" as western democracies seek to maintain control over religious, national, ethnic, or ideology-inspired movements unassociated with any government. Networks of individuals form the core of transnational terrorist movements, today's most evident threat to national security. Human networks are behind narcotics trafficking, arms proliferation, piracy, hiding war criminals from authorities, human trafficking, or other smuggling activities. Human networks also lie at the core of national governments, offering an increased potential to nonlethally influence state actors with precision. A robust manhunting capability would allow the United States to interdict these human networks.

Third, the precision necessary for manhunting offers the potential to further reduce unintended consequences of military operations. Recent history

has clearly demonstrated that it is possible to reduce unintended destruction, military and civilian casualties associated with conventional military operations, approaching those levels only necessary to achieve clearly defined national objectives. In an era of perceived precision, failure to avoid collateral damage can directly undermine a military effort.[95] Likewise, the most recent experience of U.S. intelligence and military forces demonstrate it is possible through manhunting to target and interdict individual humans before they have an opportunity to threaten others. Precisely targeting an individual or his or her immediate network offers the opportunity to further reduce collateral damage, combatant and noncombatant casualties.

Fourth, manhunting offers additional options short of full-scale conventional or nuclear conflict. By incorporating nonlethal DIMEFIL options into the array of manhunting techniques, national leaders will be presented with additional options employed more palatably during the earliest emergence of a potential crisis. Picture curling, the Winter Olympics sport. As a skater releases the heavy stone onto the ice, a few strokes from a broom can alter the speed and trajectory of the stone. Likewise, a small amount of precise influence or force employed at an early point in a developing situation might divert the trajectory of an event away from crisis or full-scale conflict.

Fifth, it is possible to visualize manhunting as a spectrum of activities, wherein government experts would track individuals who meet a critical threshold of threatening behavior. When action must be taken, a ladder of escalation allows application of only that degree of influence or force necessary to reduce or eliminate the threat. The spectrum of activities is illustrated in Figure 1. As one moves up the scale from lower left to upper right, operations become more sensitive, intrusive, costly, labor-intensive, and information-intensive.

At the low end of the spectrum of manhunting-related activities, one finds the enablers that make manhunting operations possible. These include mundane tasks like collecting and archiving biometric, demographic, and other data from myriads of government documents needed to conduct normal national security affairs. Analysts who monitor foreign individuals and their interaction with human networks would come next in the hierarchy. By now, one has passed the halfway point on the spectrum of operations, because the bulk of work will fall into the data collection, archiving, and analysis area.

Figure 1. Spectrum of Manhunting-Related Activities

Next on the spectrum one finds infrastructure and logistics—preparatory actions that must take place to enable any subsequent action—conducted in those regions determined most likely to require manhunting activities. Personnel selection, training, and administration of a manhunting force would also fall into this area. Up to this point on the manhunting spectrum, the government has not yet targeted any individuals or human networks.

When an individual or group of individuals elevate themselves to the point where it is in the interest of U.S. national security to track the activities of a network, the manhunting operational planning will begin. In other words, an individual chooses to become a target by threatening U.S. or allied interests. Terrorists who are willing to employ lethal force would always be deemed a threat and automatically be tracked. Other persons of interest might include narcotraffickers, hostage takers, organized criminal networks, weapons proliferators, key operations personnel, or hostages.

When an individual breaches the threat threshold to become a PONI, "analyst hunters" would begin work to determine patterns of behavior or to predict the location of a targeted individual or network. Dedicated

intelligence and internal security forces may be called upon to conduct collection operations to fill information gaps. Policymakers would be informed and consulted—at this point, the government will have to determine if it is in the national interest to take action. By now, one is two thirds of the way toward the end of the spectrum. Clearly, the first option for action would be to change an opponent's mind—to deter the opponent from action that would lead to conflict. A leader might choose to employ nonlethal or soft-power options in an effort to convince an individual or network to change behavior and thus no longer pose a threat. But some individuals cannot be reasoned with. By now we are at the last few fractions of a percent along the spectrum. It is time to take action to capture an individual and deliver him to law enforcement authorities. If the person cannot be captured, or poses too great a threat, targeted killing must be considered. The magnitude of the threat would be a key determinant in whether or not to employ lethal force. Lethal force would clearly be justified if a terrorist were in possession of a weapon of mass destruction and intent upon its use.

One can visualize manhunting as an entire spectrum of activities. Most of the spectrum is dedicated to those tasks needed to make manhunting operations possible. The identification of individuals and human networks makes possible the precise employment of nonlethal capabilities intended to dissuade individual threats or disrupt networks that constitute a threat. Only at the very extreme end of the manhunting spectrum would a nation take action to employ force, and only in extreme circumstances would manhunting employ lethal force.

Sixth, manhunting could provide a deterrent capability. Were it known or widely perceived that the United States had the capability to influence, capture, or kill an individual human being or his/her immediate network, it is likely that rational individuals would be deterred from becoming a threat. When confronting individuals who are not rational or who are irreconcilable, the American capability to influence, capture, or kill them would provide leaders with an option to address the threat presented by the individual and his/her network—an option short of the expense and damage caused by full-scale force-on-force conflict.

Conventional warfare has become polarized along the lines of ground, sea, and air combat. On the modern battlefield, squadrons, fleets, and divisions face similarly equipped ground, naval, and air forces. Industrial-age and information-age warfare have become cost-prohibitive and politically

untenable. Theoretically, the United States could reverse the polarity of warfare by officially adopting manhunting doctrine as a core element of defense policy. Manhunting has the potential to form the basis for national security, as highly trained teams disrupt or disintegrate human networks or seize threatening weapons. Much as nuclear capabilities underpinned national security for the last 60 years, an institutionalized manhunting capability might form the foundation of U.S. national security strategy for the 21st century.

Conclusion

This paper defined manhunting as the deliberate concentration of national power to find, influence, capture, or when necessary, kill an individual to disrupt a human network. Appendix A has examples of historic U.S. employment of manhunting dating back to the colonial period, along with other military actions that included manhunting aspects. In an accelerating trend, manhunting has arguably become America's tactic of choice in countering terrorists, insurgents, pirates, narcotics traffickers, and similar nonstate actors. Appendix B demonstrates that manhunting is not merely an American phenomenon; other countries have also employed these tactics through history. Israel is perhaps the most advanced in developing a dedicated manhunting capability with open, legal codification. Appendix C has examples of personnel recovery operations that may provide insight that will guide employment of manhunting capabilities.

Strategy, doctrine, policy, law, and organization have not kept pace with the tactics our forces are currently employing. American manhunting operations have historically been ad-hoc affairs. Despite the increasing employment of manhunting, the U.S. national security establishment has not yet developed appropriate doctrine, dealt with challenging policy and legal issues, nor organized forces and assigned clear responsibility to field and employ these capabilities. Were the U.S. to do so, manhunting could become an important element of future national security policy, as highly trained teams disrupt or disintegrate human networks or seize threatening weapons.

The monograph presented doctrinal, policy, legal, and organizational issues associated with manhunting, providing options for consideration in formalizing counter-network capability as a primary venue for countering

threats posed by nonstate actors. Figure 1 envisioned a spectrum of operations associated with manhunting, which would provide escalatory options for senior leaders to focus national power against nonstate actors. The monograph also argued that formally adopting manhunting capabilities would allow the United States to deter and interdict threats without resorting to the expense and turbulence associated with deployment of major military formations. Manhunting capabilities could play a central role in the implementation of U.S. national security strategy in the 21st century. In order to do so, the U.S. must develop doctrine—including an authoritative legal regimen—organize, and assign responsibility to develop manhunting capabilities.

Appendix A. Chronology of American Manhunting Operations

1646 Colonial Virginia

In March, Virginia's Assembly sent the colonial interpreter, Captain Henry Fleet, to negotiate peace with the Powhatan chief Opechancanough. Governor William Berkeley opposed the conciliatory efforts by the Assembly and took matters into his own hands, leading a detachment of soldiers in a preemptive raid against Opechancanough's headquarters. 100 years old and nearly blind, Opechancanough was taken to Jamestown, paraded before a crowd of colonists, and later shot in the back by a member of Berkeley's guard force.[96]

1832 Illinois, Wisconsin, Mississippi River Valley

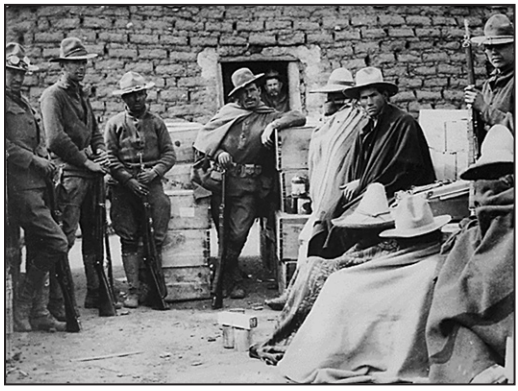
The Black Hawk War, named for the chief of the British Band of Sacs and Foxes, involved nearly 5,000 troops, rangers, and militia members in the pursuit of Black Hawk and his two united tribes, totaling no more than 2,000 men, women, and children. Abraham Lincoln, a young Illinois lawyer, signed on with the state militia to accompany the operation. Though initially successful in defending their hunting grounds, the tribe was ultimately decimated in a series of military actions along the Mississippi River.[97]

1835-1842 Florida

During the Second Seminole War, American troops were unable to maneuver as large units in the Florida swamps. American commanders enjoyed little military success until they too adopted unconventional, small-unit tactics designed to bring the war parties to battle or run them to ground. American commanders Zachary Taylor and William Worth adapted to their new tactical environment. Six other senior commanders requested relief from their involvement in a conflict they regarded as unworthy of a true officer and warrior. Commanders established a series of heavily garrisoned posts that protected white settlements and limited the Seminoles' ability to move. They also sent patrols from those posts that found and destroyed Indian villages, crops, and war parties.[98]

1846-1848 Mexico

The Mexican Occupation. Away from the immediate battlefields, the Army found itself in a foreign country with a small force while battling capable and highly motivated *guerrillas*. By 1847, 24 percent of the Army force was dedicated to protecting supply routes. General Winfield Scott created a special 1,800-man antiguerrilla brigade under the command of Brigadier General Joseph Lane, who stressed mobility to better locate and engage Mexican Light Corps units. Lieutenant Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock formed a "Spy Company" of released Mexican prisoners, who directly led to the capture of two key rebel leaders. Texas Rangers



The United States conducted a Punitive Expedition into Mexico in search of Francisco "Pancho" Villa and his renegades. Here, a group of Villistas who raided Columbus, New Mexico and were apprehended by Army soldiers are held in camp near Namiqipa Mexico, 27 April 1916. National Archives photo (533443).

were dispatched to conduct manhunting operations in pursuit of guerrilla and partisan forces. A decrease in guerrilla attacks in 1848 was attributed to large number of troops on security duty, offensive operations against the partisans, and on measures taken to separate the volunteer troops from the civilian population. After the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ended hostilities, the United States helped rebuild the Mexican Army.[99]

1860-1898 United States

The United States government issued Letters of Marque and Reprisal to citizens for seizure of property and persons during the Civil War and Spanish-American War.[100]

1862-1863 Washington, D.C.

During the Civil War, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton appointed Lafayette Baker as Provost Marshal. Baker's National Detective Police, an undercover counterintelligence unit, employed controversial methods to find and capture individuals deemed a threat. Baker successfully identified and arrested Confederate spy Belle Boyd in 1862.[101]

1863 Virginia

With the assistance of a deserter from the 5th New York Cavalry, the Partisan Rangers, led by Captain John Singleton Mosby, conducted a 25-mile raid behind Federal lines on Fairfax Court House on 8 March. Mosby initially planned to kidnap Colonel Percy Wyndham, an English mercenary who had offended Mosby's sensibilities by calling him "a horse thief," but Wyndham was not at Fairfax Courthouse. Mosby also targeted and captured General E. H. Stoughton, commander of the Washington defenses south of the Potomac River, along with 25 Federal soldiers, 26 horses, and assorted equipment. When informed of the raid, President Lincoln remarked, "I don't mind the loss of a general, for I can make another in 5 minutes. But I hate to lose the horses." [102]

1863 Shenandoah Valley

Lafayette Baker raised a battalion of cavalry designated the 1st District of Columbia Cavalry to pursue Confederate Colonel John Singleton Mosby and his Partisan Rangers. The unit was unable to capture Mosby, who continued his guerilla warfare until the Civil War ended.[103]

1863 Colorado, New Mexico

Fort Garland deployed a detachment of soldiers to arrest bandits Felipe Nerio Espinosa and Vivian Espinosa, who murdered a total of 30 people in a crime spree spanning New Mexico and Colorado. Cornered in a small cabin, the Espinosa brothers escaped after wounding several soldiers and killing one. Frustrated by the Espinosa's terror following the ambush of a man and his wife in a nearby pass, Colonel Sam Tappin, commanding officer at Fort Garland, called on Thomas Tate Tobin—a respected scout, guide, and mountain man—to find the Espinosa brothers. Tappin insisted on providing a detachment of 15 soldiers to support the capture of the brothers and their band. Once Tobin was away from the fort, he left the noisy soldiers at camp and went ahead with a young Mexican boy, whom he also left behind when he actually located the band of killers. Creeping up on the two bandits and a younger relative, Tobin killed them both in a gun and knife fight. To prove he completed his assignment, Tobin returned to Fort Garland with the two bandits' heads in a gunnysack.[104]

1864 Virginia

Colonel Ulric Dahlgren was killed while leading a 5 March cavalry raid ostensibly to free thousands of Union soldiers from Richmond prisoner-of-war camps. A search of Dahlgren's body revealed orders instructing the cavalrymen to find and execute President Jefferson Davis and the Confederate cabinet. "The Dahlgren Affair" became a sensational public incident. General George Meade ordered a full investigation by General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick, who commanded the raid on Richmond. Kilpatrick denied the orders were issued. In response to southern outcry, Jefferson Davis directed General Robert E. Lee to file a protest over the Dahlgren papers with Union commander Meade. Meade responded with a curt denial that any orders were given.[105]

1864-1865 District of Columbia, Virginia, Maryland

Possibly viewing The Dahlgren Affair as cause for retribution, Confederate Secret Service agents planned several operations targeting Federal leaders. John Wilkes Booth failed to capture Abraham Lincoln on 17 March 1865. On 10 April, a plot to explode a mine (bomb) near the White House unravelled when Federal cavalry captured a key explosives expert from the Confederate Torpedo Bureau 15 miles from the District of Columbia. Taking matters into his own hands, John Wilkes Booth and associates planned to disrupt the Union by assassinating several key Federal leaders. At 10:15 p.m. on 14 April 1865, Booth assassinated Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theater. Lewis Powell stabbed Secretary of State William Seward but failed

to kill him. George Atzerodt planned to kill Vice President Andrew Johnson at home, but made no attempt.[106]

1865 Washington D.C., Maryland, Virginia

Lafayette Baker was summoned to Washington D.C. to lead the 16 to 26 April pursuit of John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln conspirators. Baker's agents arrested Mary Surratt, Lewis Paine, George Atzerodt, and Edman Spangler within 2 days. Uncovering Booth's trail on 22 April, Baker dispatched a 25-man detachment of the 16th New York Cavalry under Lieutenant E. P. Doherty and former Lieutenant Colonel Everton Conger to pursue Booth. They caught up with Booth and David Herold near Port Royal, Virginia at a barn owned by Richard Garrett. Herold surrenders. In violation of capture orders, Sergeant Boston Corbett shot Booth in the back. Corbett and the men of his detachment were later given a reward for doing so.[107]

1877 Wallowa Valley, Oregon, Canada

2,000 U.S. Army troops pursued 700 members of the Nez Percé tribe, led by Thunder Rolling Down the Mountain (a.k.a. Chief Joseph), after the native Americans refused to return to a designated reservation. Starting in July, the Nez Percé conducted a brilliant 1,400-mile retreat, finally surrendering on 5 October 1877.[108]

1877-1880 Texas, New Mexico, Mexico

Units of 9th and 10th U.S. Cavalry Regiments pursued Apache under the leadership of Victorio in a campaign of engagements which began in May 1877. Victorio eluded American forces by crossing into Mexico. Mexican military forces, though initially slow to respond, ultimately forced Victorio back into the United States in late July 1880, in a rare case of Mexican Army hot pursuit into U.S. territory. U.S. cavalry units met Victorio, forcing him to cross back into Mexico on 12 August. The campaign climaxed when Mexican and U.S. forces agreed to cooperate. With the permission of the Mexican government, a powerful U.S. force crossed into Mexico, operating in cooperation with 350-man Mexican Army deployment. In October, with the situation well in hand, U.S. forces were requested to depart Mexico. Mexican forces surrounded and eliminated Victorio's force at Tres Castillos.[109]

1885-1886 Arizona, New Mexico, Mexico

General Nelson Appleton Miles fielded a force of Apache scouts and handpicked troopers under Captain Henry Lawton to apply pressure to the Chiricahua raiders led by Geronimo in May 1885.[110] Miles also dispatched Lieutenant Charles Bare Gatewood along with two Apache scouts and a small detail including the legendary frontiersman Tom Horn.[111] Gatewood invested considerable personal time learning native American language and culture and had a reputation for integrity and courage. An experienced campaigner who participated in the hunt for Victorio, Gatewood was known and trusted by Geronimo. Miles ordered Gatewood to convince Geronimo

to surrender. Gatewood's party tracked Geronimo for weeks, finally locating his camp near Fronteras, a few miles south of the Mexico border. Gatewood began a dangerous and extended negotiation with Geronimo, finally convincing the Chiricahua leader to surrender to Federal forces in September 1886.[112]

1900-1902 Philippines

American forces conducted an antiguerilla campaign against ethnic Tagalog and Ilocano *insurrectos*. The campaign included efforts to win hearts and minds through civil activities and establishment of local governments, along with patrols and expeditions to capture or kill insurrectos. However, efforts were largely unsuccessful until the Army employed harsh measures to break linkages between the civilian population and the insurrectos. At the end of the insurgency, one insurrecto leader gave the following reasons for his surrender: "… reconcentration [relocation of rural civilian population to American-controlled towns], the complete cleaning up of food supplies outside the towns, and persecution of the insurgent soldier by the people, the search for myself by the people, and the demoralization of my troops." [113]

1916-1917 Mexico, New Mexico, Texas

Mexican revolutionary general Francisco "Pancho" Villa raided U.S. territory to provoke an invasion of Mexico in order to discredit President Carranza, Villa's former commander and political rival. In response to growing outcry over Villista raids, President Wilson ordered an expedition into Mexico to end Pancho Villa's reign of terror. In mid-March 1916, General John J. Pershing crossed into Mexico from Fort Bliss, Texas with approximately 10,000 Army soldiers on a punitive expedition to eliminate the threat posed by Villa's force of 500 to 1,500 irregulars. Penetrating nearly 400 miles into Mexican territory over Carranza's strenuous protests, the expedition threatened to escalate into a second war with Mexico—an event Wilson needed to avoid, due to the increasing likelihood the U.S. will be drawn into the ongoing European conflict.[114] Diplomatic negotiations between the Wilson and Carranza governments succeeded, and the punitive expedition was withdrawn in February 1917.[115]

1921-1933 United States

The Lawless Years. The United States did not possess a robust capability to prosecute federal crimes; in fact, there were few federal laws to enforce. The FBI was established in part to deal with particularly violent criminal gangs. FBI *G-men* pursued infamous criminals, bringing to justice gangsters including George "Machine Gun" Kelly, John Dillinger, Charles Arthur "Pretty Boy" Floyd, Lester Gillis (a.k.a. Baby Face Nelson), and Clyde Barrow and Bonny Parker, the infamous Bonny and Clyde.[116]

1942 Philippines

Shortly after being evacuated from the Corregidor to Mindanao by patrol-torpedo (PT) boat, General Douglas MacArthur received information that Philippine Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon was wavering in his allegiance to the United States. Having evacuated Quezon from Manila to Negros, 100 miles northwest of Mindanao, MacArthur feared Quezon would defect to the side of invading Japanese forces. MacArthur ordered Navy Lieutenant John Bulkeley to "hop over to Negros, find Quezon, and bring him and his whole tribe back here." Near sunset on 13 March, Bulkeley led PT-41 and PT-35 to the port of Zamboquita, narrowly avoiding a Japanese destroyer. Wading ashore with three men, a Filipino constable informed Bulkeley that Quezon left Zamboquita that afternoon. Threatening the constable with his Tommy gun, Bulkeley found that Quezon moved 25 miles up the coast to Bais. Returning to the waiting PT boats, Bulkeley waded ashore at Bais, where he learned from a local resident that Quezon was hiding in a palm hut several miles inland. Appropriating two automobiles, Bulkeley woke Quezon at 2:30 a.m. Quezon initially refused to go with Bulkeley, who convinced the President that he should think about the treachery and brutality shown by Japanese forces before making a final decision. Quezon acceded. Bulkeley and his shore party jammed Quezon, his family, Vice President Sergio Osmena, a general, and two cabinet officers into the two automobiles, arriving at the Bais dock at 3:05 a.m., only to discover that PT-35 had struck a rock and been beached. Quezon had second thoughts,

When Philippine Commonwealth President Manuel Quezon wavered in his loyalty to the United States in early World War II, General Douglas MacArthur ordered Navy Lieutenant John Bulkeley and his PT-41 patrol torpedo boat to force the Philippine president and his family into exile. National Archives photo (ww2-59).

once more refusing to go. Against the President's wishes, Bulkeley herded Quezon, his eight companions, an additional seven cabinet members who appeared at the dock, and the crew of the beached PT-35 onto the remaining PT boat along with sacks of money estimated at $12-15 million. PT-41 made the 100-mile trip back to Mindanao through a violent storm, with Bulkeley refusing Quezon's repeated demands that he be returned to Negros. Arriving at 6 a.m., Bulkeley remarked to one of his associates, "I wonder when the statute of limitations for kidnapping expires?" Quezon, suffering from tuberculosis, died in the United States in 1944. Osmena succeeded Quezon as president in exile.[117]

1942 Amagansett, Long Island, New York; Ponte Vedra Beach, near Jacksonville, Florida

When the Nazis landed eight saboteurs on American shores, the FBI apprehended all from 13 to 27 June, before they were able to accomplish their mission. This was primarily due to a turncoat within the Nazi ranks, George John Dasch. Shortly after their arrest and subsequent trial by military tribunal, all but Dasch were executed. German intelligence was so shaken that no further attempts were made to insert agents into the United States for over a year.[118]

1943 Hawaii, Bougainville

Having broken the code employed by the Imperial Japanese Navy, the U.S. Navy's Pacific Fleet Radio Unit decodeed a message containing an itinerary for an inspection tour by the commander of the Japanese Combined Fleet and architect of the carrier attack on Pearl Harbor, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto. Concerned that any strike against the key Japanese leader might compromise the American code-breaking capability, President Roosevelt, Secretary of the Navy Knox, and commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet Admiral Nimitz agreed the opportunity to remove Yamamoto from the picture justified the risk. A squadron of P-38 Lightning twin-engine fighters was assigned to intercept Yamamoto's transport aircraft, downing his bomber on 18 April 1943 as it approaches Kahili Aerodrome, on Bougainville, killing Yamamoto.[119]

1945-1946 Occupied Germany

President Truman in August authorized Project Paperclip to bring German scientists to the United States. On 18 November, the first scientists reached America. A hoard of V-2 missiles and documentation was shipped from Germany to White Sands Proving Grounds in New Mexico. Near the end of the year, more than 100 Germans, who agreed to come to the United States under Project Paperclip, arrived at Fort Bliss, Texas.

Projects Credulity and Overcast were similar in nature to Paperclip. Other programs were initiated in Europe. Operation Applepie was the code name for a program to locate and interrogate key German personnel of RSHA AMT VI (Chief of Security Headquarters) and members of the German Army staff who had knowledge about Soviet industrial and economic matters. Operation Dwindle

recruited German cryptology personnel. Operation Goldcup was the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Forces Europe code name for efforts to locate and collect Third Reich records and government ministerial personnel. Operations Alsos and Harborage were code names for Allied missions made up of special intelligence forces who sought information on German developments in nuclear fission. Operations Birchwood, Pajamas, and Panhandle recruited East European "economic experts," German biochemical experts, and exmilitary intelligence personnel, respectively. Tally Ho was a Counterintelligence Corps operation in July 1945, to speed up the apprehension of Nazi war criminals, while in 1946 Grab Bag sought to break up an underground route used by former SS troops escaping Germany.[120]

1945-present United States

CIA, FBI, and DoD counterintelligence agents employed classic law enforcement techniques to find and expose enemy spies. Efforts met with varied success; often unable to prevent compromise of critical secrets, investigations of innocent people curtailed several careers. Yet persistent investigation resulted in a litany of prosecutions and eventual imprisonment of many perpetrators. Famous counterespionage cases included those of Rudolf Abel, Maksim Martynov, Aldrich Ames, Robert Hansen, the John Walker Family, Jonathan Pollard, Christopher Boyce, and Andrew Dalton Lee.[121]

1952-1954 Guatemala, Nicaragua

CIA conducted planning and operations "aimed at removing the government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman from power in Guatemala," due to rising Communist influence within Arbenz' administration. Covert operations under the code names *PBFORTUNE* and *PBSUCCESS* included planning and proposals that incorporated influence and assassination options. The Guatemalan resistance movement, *Castillo Armas*, may have proposed the assassination options. PBSUCCESS, designed to remove the government "covertly, without bloodshed if possible," combined psychological warfare, economic, diplomatic, and paramilitary actions against Guatemala. On 5 January 1954, a CIA officer requested a special paper on liquidation of personnel, and 8 days later discusseed the training of two assassins.[122] The operations included CIA training for 85 Castillo Armas insurgents in Nicaragua, the establishment of a clandestine radio broadcasting facility code named *Sherwood*, air cargo drops, and attacks against key facilities in order to influence Arbenz and his cronies. Conducted at a cost of only $3 million, the operation unmasked Soviet assistance to Guatemala; it also resulted in the collapse of the Arbenz government and the installation of a military junta acceptable to the U.S. government.[123]

1960 United States, Cuba

Richard M. Bissell, a CIA operations officer, approached CIA Office of Security's Colonel Sheffield Edwards in August 1960 to determine if the office had any assets who might conduct "gangster-type action" to target Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Robert A. Maheu, a CIA asset, approached Johnny Roselli, a reputed syndicate member,

claiming he represented clients who "suffered heavy financial loss" when the Castro regime took over syndicate operations in Cuba. Roselli introduced Maheu to Sam Gold, who suggested that it might be possible to poison Castro's food or drink. Gold also suggested a potential assassin: Juan Orta, a Cuban official with access to Castro. CIA produced six highly lethal pills that were delivered to Orta. After several weeks of attempts, however, Orta backed out of the assignment, suggesting a replacement. The replacement also made several attempts without success. CIA identified Dr. Anthony Verona, a former officer in the Cuban Exile Junta, as another potential assassin. Verona was never used because the Kennedy administration cancelled anti-Castro operations in the aftermath of the Bay of Pigs.[124]

1960 Republic of the Congo

In 1960, after President Eisenhower expressed concern about Patrice Lumumba's Congolese government, CIA conducted planning and discussions with opposition figures over possible removal. The week after the August 18 NSC meeting, a presidential advisor reminded the Special Group of the "necessity for very straightforward action" against Lumumba and prompted a decision not to rule out consideration of "any particular kind of activity that might contribute to getting rid of Lumumba." The following day, director of Central Intelligence Dulles cabled Leopoldville, Republic of the Congo, that "in high quarters" the "removal" of Lumumba was "an urgent and prime objective." Shortly thereafter the CIA's clandestine service formulated a plot to assassinate Lumumba. The plot proceeded to the point that the CIA delivered lethal substances and instruments specifically intended for use in an assassination to the Congo Station. There is no evidence that these instruments of assassination were actually used against Lumumba.[125]

1960s Langley, Virginia

CIA conducted research on *executive action*, a euphemism that evaluated means by which foreign political leaders might be overthrown, including assassination. Richard M. Bissell, who was involved in the project, later testified before the Church Committee and indicated that executive action covered a "wide spectrum of actions" to "eliminate the effectiveness" of foreign leaders, with assassination as the "most extreme" action in the spectrum. The agency initiated ZR/RIFLE, a project that involved assessing the problems and requirements of assassination and developed a stand-by assassination capability. More specifically, it involved "spotting" potential agents and researching assassination techniques that might be used. Bissell characterized ZR/RIFLE as "internal and purely preparatory."[126]

1965-1975 Republic of Vietnam; Malaysia; New Zealand; Fort Gordon, Georgia

Building on the British Special Air Service (SAS) experience in Malaysia, the United States, Great Britain, and New Zealand cooperatively trained 14 Combat Tracker Teams (CTTs) to hunt their Vietnamese enemy on his own ground. Trained under the supervision of British advisors at Fort Gordon, Georgia, the British Jungle

Warfare School in Malaysia, and with Ghurka units in New Zealand, CTTs included volunteers from across the Army and comprised a team leader, a visual tracker, a tracker dog with handler, and two men to provide cover. All team members were trained in visual tracking. Once the enemy evadeed conventional forces, the CTT was called in to reestablish contact with the enemy.[127]

1967 Laos

On 2 June, a flight of Marine UH-1E helicopter gunships escorted five Marine CH-46s and nine Vietnamese Air Force (VNAF) HH-34 transport helicopters on a secret Prairie Fire mission into Laos for Military Assistance Command-Vietnam, Special Operations Group (MAC-V SOG). Their mission was to insert a company-sized "Hatchet Force" of approximately 100 men into the heart of the main North Vietnamese command center for the Ho Chi Minh Trail, known to American intelligence and SOF as *Target Oscar Eight*, approximately 18 to 22 kilometers southeast of Khe Sanh. Ostensibly, the objective of this raid was to assess bomb damage following a large raid on the logistical and command center at Oscar Eight.

The true objective of this raid was to capture or kill General Vo Nguyen Giap, commander of the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) and chief architect of the war. Several hundred Special Agent Reports had been intercepted from the target area within a 24-hour period. These radio transmissions originated from the NVA and indicated General Giap might be present. An Arc Light strike by nine B-52 bombers hit Oscar Eight at dawn to suppress antiaircraft defenses and disorient NVA infantry in the area. Following on the heels of the bombers, the 14 helicopters landed the Hatchet Force. Consisting of Nung tribesmen led by American Special Forces, the Hatchet Force fanned out from the landing zone, but a quick NVA reaction halted them before they could reach their objectives. Soon the Hatchet Force was surrounded in several large bomb craters.

Fighter bombers were called in to attack the enemy positions around the Hatchet Force, but Oscar Eight's heavy antiaircraft defenses soon recovered. Two A-1 Skyraiders, an F-4 Phantom, two Marine UH-1E gunships, and one VNAF HH-34 were shot down. A Marine CH-46 with a full load of troops was hit as it took off from the hot landing zone. The CH-46 crashed near an NVA position. Its crew and surviving passengers were either killed or captured by the NVA. MAC-V SOG troops fought for 4 days to extract the Hatchet Force survivors. Those killed included 23 Americans and approximately 46 Nung tribesmen, and 6 Americans were declared missing in action.[128]

1967 Bolivia

CIA and U.S. Army Special Forces dispatched field agents to Bolivia to assist in combating guerillas led by revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara. Arriving in August, CIA case officer Felix Rodriguez provided advice to Bolivian rangers in a manhunt for Guevara and his guerrilla band. Bolivian rangers made contact near La Higuera on 26 September, applied increasing pressure on Guevara, who began a retreat. A Bolivian unit trained by U.S. Special Forces captured Guevara on 8 October. Felix

Rodriguez met Guevara, interrogated him, and photocopied all of his captured documents. The United States wanted to extradite Che for trial in Panama. In order to avert the trial becoming a controversial political platform for their prisoner, the Bolivian government summarily executed Guevara on 9 October.[129]

1985 Mediterranean Sea

Palestinian gunmen in October took over the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro*, with 80 passengers and a crew of 340, killing Leon Klinghoffer, an elderly Jewish-American invalid. Finally anchoring off Port Said, Egyptian, Italian, and Palestinian negotiators talked the terrorists into going ashore. President Hosni Mubarak announced the "seajackers" had been permitted to leave Egypt before authorities became aware of the Klinghoffer murder. The U.S. intelligence community discovered the terrorists were still in Egypt, planning to fly to Algiers aboard an Egypt Air Boeing 737. The Reagan Administration took advantage of the fact that the aircraft carrier USS *Saratoga* was steaming in the Mediterranean Sea. Notified of the mission only 2 hours ahead of the B737 departure, *Saratoga* launched E-3A Hawkeye surveillance aircraft, E-6B Prowler electronic jamming aircraft, and F-14 Tomcat fighters, intercepting the Egyptian airliner 45 minutes after it left Cairo.[130] Forced to land at Sigonella Naval Base, Italian authorities took custody of the four terrorists and Muhammed "Abu" Abbas, a key aide to Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Abbas escaped Italy before being prosecuted but was later sentenced to five life sentences in absentia.[131]

1986 Libya, England, Mediterranean Sea

On 5 April 1986, an explosion at the LaBelle discotheque killed two people and wounded 200; one of the dead and 63 of the injured were U.S. military service members. With "irrefutable proof" of Libyan complicity—including an order from Gaddafi directing an attack "to cause maximum and indiscriminate casualties" among Americans—President Reagan ordered an attack on Libya's capability to sponsor terrorist attacks. At 2 a.m. on 16 April, the aircraft carriers USS *America* and USS *Coral Sea* and a squadron of F-111 Aardvark attack aircraft—flying long distance from their base at Lakenheath, England—struck targets along the Libyan coast in Operation El Dorado Canyon. Although the United States emphasized that the operation focused on the terrorist support infrastructure, the raid displayed manhunting aspects. F-111 attack aircraft targeted the Al Aziziyah Barracks, Gaddafi's headquarters, where Gaddafi was known to keep a Bedouin-style tent. Gaddafi claimed his adopted daughter was killed in the attack.[132]

1989-1990 Panama

On 12 December 1989, Manuel Noriega ordered the Panamanian parliamentary assembly to proclaim him *Maximum Leader*. Three days later, he claimed that a state of war existed between his government and the United States. Initially dismissed as saber rattling by the White House, the situation deteriorated within hours when a Marine officer was killed at a Panamanian roadblock. American forces, which

secretly built up strength in the tense days after Noriega's declaration of war, broke out from their bases in the Canal Zone on 21 December to seize key objectives and neutralize the Panamanian Defense Forces in Operation Just Cause. Noriega eluded a SOF manhunt and went into hiding at mistress Vicki Armado's villa. His routes to sanctuary in either the Cuban or Nicaraguan embassies blocked, Noriega requested asylum on Christmas Day from the surprised Papal Nuncio—personal emissary of the Pope and head of the Vatican Diplomatic Mission. After protracted negotiations, Noriega turned himself over to U.S. forces on 3 January 1990. He was later tried and incarcerated in the United States.[133]

1990-1991 Iraq, United States

Prior to open hostilities with Iraq, Secretary of Defense Cheney dismissed Air Force chief of staff, General Michael Dugan, after Dugan discussed details of planned air strikes in a press interview. During a 16 September 1990 interview 1 week prior to the opening session of the United Nations General Assembly, General Dugan insisted that one of the goals of any future Air Force strikes would be to kill Saddam Hussein and his family. [134] Cheney explained that Dugan was dismissed not just for revealing operational details but for speaking favorably about a policy that might violate the ban on assassinations. "We never talk about the targeting of specific individuals who are officials of other governments," Cheney said.[135] Not knowing the precise location of the Iraqi dictator after the commencement of Operation Desert Storm in January, U.S. Central Command target planners identified several key command and control facilities where Hussein might hide. A special guided weapon—the 18-foot long, 4,700-pound GBU-28—was designed during Operation Desert Storm in a 17-day crash program to penetrate the most deeply buried bunkers. Two of the massive weapons were used before the Gulf War cease-fire.[136]

1992-1993 Colombia

U.S. SOF and intelligence assisted the Colombian government in a manhunt for Pablo Emilio Escobar Gaviria, leader of the notorious Medellín drug cartel. Providing advice, training, and equipment to a Colombian special police task force known as the *Search Bloc*, the U.S. operatives covertly led a 16-month manhunt. A right-wing Colombian vigilante group, los Pepes, applied additional pressure by murdering nearly 300 of Escobar's associates. On 2 December, employing communications direction-finding equipment provided by the United States, the Search Bloc tracked Escobar's telephone to a barrio in Medellín. Escobar was killed in the ensuing gunfight.[137]

1992-2001 The Balkans, centering in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the province of Kosovo

The intensity of fighting and "ethnic cleansing" across the Balkans by rival nationalist forces shocked the world, spurring the United Nations and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to intervene in the civil war. The United Nations passed

Resolution 827 on 25 May 1993, establishing an International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), an investigative body aimed at bringing to trial those who committed *crimes against humanity* including genocide, torture, ethnic cleansing, prison atrocities, and rape.[138] American elements in NATO's Implementation and Stabilization Forces (IFOR/SFOR) detained Persons Indicted for War Crimes (PIFWCS) in the course of normal duties. By November 2001, NATO's SFOR detained 23 PIFWCS—67 percent of publicly indicted PIFWCs. 17 others were detained overseas; two were killed during the detention process, and 22 surrendered themselves voluntarily.[139]

1993 Mogadishu, Somalia

On 5 June, militia forces of the Somalia National Alliance (SNA), under the leadership of General Mohamed Farah Aideed, ambushed and killed 24 Pakistani soldiers. An escalating series of U.S. responses culminated in the 22 August deployment of Task Force (TF) Ranger, a Joint Special Operations Task Force to capture Aideed and his key leaders. On 3 October, TF Ranger targeted two key lieutenants meeting in the Olympic Hotel at the center of Aideed's "Black Sea" enclave. The assault team captured 24 Somalis and prepared to load them into a convoy of Army trucks. As they were doing so, the SNA targeted TF helicopters, downing two and damaging several others. The manhunt transitioned to a personnel recovery mission. By the time TF Ranger's soldiers ran "the Mogadishu Mile" to the soccer stadium at daybreak on 4 October, 18 Americans were dead and 105 wounded. Most sources estimated that Somali casualties in the Battle of the Black Sea exceeded 1,000 men, women, and children. In the aftermath of the battle, international news agencies repeatedly showed footage of American bodies desecrated by celebrating Somali mobs. U.S. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin resigned a month later.[140] Within 6 months, the United States withdrew most of its forces from Somalia.[141]

1993-1998 Pakistan, United States

After the February 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York, accused bomber Ramzi Ahmed Yousef fled the United States. Leaflets, posters, even matchbooks distributed worldwide sought Yousef. Not long after, a man Yousef tried to recruit offered a tip regarding Yousef's whereabouts. On 7 February 1995, Pakistani intelligence raided the Su-Casa Guest House in Islamabad. They arrested Yousef and turned him over to U.S. Diplomatic Security Service agents.[142] Extradited to Manhattan, Yousef was tried and on 8 January 1998 sentenced to 240 years in prison for the attack.[143]

1993-2002 Pakistan, United States

Pakistani citizen Mir Amal Kanzi opened fire on workers queued in traffic at the Route 123 entrance to CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia on 25 January 1993. Kanzi cased CIA headquarters while working as a courier from 1991. Placed on the FBI Most Wanted list with a reward that ultimately rose to $3.5 million, Kanzi was betrayed by an informant in Pakistan after he fell out of favor with a tribal

leader.[144] Apprehended in an early morning raid 15 June 1997 and later returned to the United States for trial, Kanzi was found guilty and executed by lethal injection on 14 November 2002.[145]

1994 Sudan

Former Special Forces soldier and CIA independent contractor Billy Waugh and a handpicked team find and fix Ilich Ramirez Sanchez (a.k.a. Carlos the Jackal) and Osama bin Laden in Khartoum. Waugh and his team establish a clandestine observation post to monitor the Jackal's residence. Seized by his own bodyguards, the Jackal was handed over to French intelligence on 14 December.[146]

1998-2000 Afghanistan, United States

In May 1998, CIA proposed a plan to capture Osama bin Laden at Tarnak Farms, Afghanistan. The plan was not approved for fear that a raid might injure women and children.[147] President Bill Clinton ordered the first direct military action against Al Qaeda and supporters in the wake of August 1998 attacks against U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. Acting on intelligence that senior Al Qaeda leaders would meet at a camp in Afghanistan, U.S. cruise missiles launched against Al Qaeda facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan reportedly missed bin Laden by a few hours. President Clinton imposed a ban on trade with Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, freezing Taliban assets in July 1999. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1333 banned arms shipments and military advice to the Taliban in December 2000. The Clinton Administration also pursued a number of covert operations against bin Laden during 1999 to 2000. After taking office, the Bush administration considered some new options, including arming anti-Taliban opposition groups.[148]

2001 United States

Terrorist attacks destroyed the World Trade Center and damaged the Pentagon on 9/11. The attack ushered in a new phase of intensive manhunting operations for America's defense, intelligence, and law enforcement communities. Viewing the attack in a similar vein to the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor that drew the United States into World War II, President George W. Bush made U.S. policy clear in a 20 September address before a joint session of Congress: "… Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime."[149] Policy shifts in the wake of 9/11 included the stated willingness to preemptively target individual terrorists with lethal force or to capture them and return them for detention and trial.

2001 Afghanistan

Chief of Al Qaeda operations Mohammad Atef (a.k.a. abu Hafs) killed in Kabul by a missile launched from a Predator UAV in November.[150]

2001-present Afghanistan, Pakistan, Central Asia

Within the month of the 9/11 attack, U.S. and British SOF and intelligence agents commenced Operation Enduring Freedom, infiltrated Afghanistan, and made contact with opposition forces known as the Northern Alliance. A classic unconventional warfare campaign began on 7 October 2001 when allied air strikes destroyed Taliban and Al Qaeda infrastructure. American aircraft also supported a Northern Alliance advance on Mazar-e-Sharif, an important logistics thoroughfare that was seized 9 November. When Taliban forces fled Kabul on 12 November, Northern Alliance forces occupied the city the following day. Within the day, Afghan provinces along the Iranian border defected to the Northern Alliance side. The Islamist forces split. Pashtun tribal factions fled toward Khost in the northeast. Taliban forces fled to their stronghold in Kandahar, while Al Qaeda hardliners retreated to their stronghold at Tora Bora.

From 13 November, allied airpower concentrated on the Al Qaeda presence in Tora Bora. U.S. SOF and British Special Boat Service closed on the site by 2 December.[151] The hard-line defenders feigned a truce, possibly intended to allow key Al Qaeda leaders to escape into the surrounding mountains across the Pakistan border. Fighting intensified on 12 December. By 17 December all cave complexes were overrun and an estimated 200 mujahideen killed. Though the most significant resistance was overcome, senior Al Qaeda leaders slipped away. Taliban and mujahideen holdouts continued to resist the new, democratic government in Afghanistan and the supporting coalition military presence.[152] Since the 9/11 attacks, over 3,000 suspected Al Qaeda members had been detained or arrested with the cooperation of nearly 90 countries. 650 of the detainees were under U.S. control. By 2005, 15 of the 37 top Al Qaeda operatives had been captured or killed.[153] As of November 2007, the FBI listed 26 terrorists on its Most Wanted list, including Al Qaeda leaders Osama bin Laden and Ayman al Zawahiri.[154]

2001-present Yemen

New rules of engagement permitted the United States to take more decisive manhunting action to find and prosecute those suspected of the USS *Cole* bombing. On 3 November 2002, a Predator UAV fired a Hellfire antitank missile at a vehicle carrying Abu Ali al-Harithi, a suspected planner of the bombing plot. Also in the vehicle was Ahmed Hijazi, a U.S. citizen. Both were killed on Yemeni territory. The Yemeni government began quiet, but tangible, support for U.S. efforts. A Yemeni judge sentenced Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri and Jamal al-Badawi to death for their roles in the bombing on 29 September 2004. Al-Badawi, in Yemeni custody, denounced the verdict as American-inspired. For their involvement, four others were sentenced to prison terms of 5-10 years, including one Yemeni who videotaped the attack. But on 3 February 2006, 23 suspected or convicted Al Qaeda members escaped from jail in Yemen. This number included 13 who were convicted of the USS *Cole* bombings and the bombing of the French tanker *Limberg* in 2002. Among those who reportedly escaped was Al-Badawi. The reputed mastermind of the Cole bombing, al-Nashiri, was placed in U.S. custody at Guantanamo, Cuba.[155]

2002 Pakistan

Ibn Al-Shaykh al-Libi, a Libyan who ran training camps in Afghanistan, was captured by Pakistan and turned over to U.S. authorities in January.[156]

2002 Afghanistan

Abd al-Hadi al-Iraqi (a.k.a. Abu Abdallah), allegedly a terrorist training camp director, was captured in January by the U.S.-led coalition.[157]

2002 Pakistan

Pakistani agents in Faisalabad arrested key recruiter and planner Abu Zubaydah in March.[158]

2002 Afghanistan

On 6 May, an airstrike by a CIA Predator UAV narrowly missed killing Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in the Shegal Gorge area of Konar Province. An unnamed American official told Reuters news service: "I believe some others were killed in the strike, but the target escaped." A Pakistani news service put the death toll at 30 people.[159]

2002 Pakistan

Pakistani agents arrested 9/11 plotter Ramzi bin al-Shibh in Karachi on 11 September.[160]

2002 Kuwait

In November, Kuwaiti security forces arrested Mohsen al-Fadli, a senior Kuwaiti member of Al Qaeda and the senior leader of the network for the Persian Gulf. Kuwait claimed the arrest foiled a plot to blow up a hotel in Yemen used by Americans.[161]

2003 Pakistan

Mohammed Omar Abdel-Rahman was arrested in Quetta in February. Son of the blind Egyptian sheik accused of inspiring the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, Abdel-Rahman ran a training camp in Afghanistan before the 9/11 attacks and also had a role in operational planning.[162] Pakistani agents arrested 9/11 planner Khalid Shaikh Mohammed near Rawalpindi on 1 March.[163]

2003-present Iraq

Implementing a new and unapologetic policy of preemption, the United States and a coalition of nations invaded Iraq on 20 March 2003. The first major military strike of the campaign was a preemptive "decapitation" attack targeting Saddam Hussein and his key leaders. In only 21 days, coalition forces toppled the Hussein regime and occupied most of the major Iraqi cities. On 11 April, the United States publicly revealed sets of playing cards bearing pictures of key Iraqi leaders.[164] The cards reflected a list of 55 key Iraqi leaders wanted by the coalition. A clear heir-

archy started with the aces and kings, used for the people at the top of the Most Wanted list. Saddam Hussein's picture was displayed as the ace of spades, while his sons Uday and Qusay adorn the respective aces of hearts and clubs.[165] On 22 July, Qusay and Uday Hussein were isolated in a residential area at Mosul, Iraq and were killed in a televised shootout with American forces. In the face of public questions and the demands from the international community, coalition forces published photographs of the bodies and allowed key members of the interim Iraqi government to view the bodies. Aggressively following up on intelligence from human sources, American forces on 13 December successfully apprehended Saddam Hussein as he hid in a "spider hole" beneath a mud-walled compound on the Tigris River 10 miles southeast of Tikrit.[166] Secretary Paul Bremer announced the apprehension the following day; the U.S. military released video of Hussein to confirm the arrest.[167] On 30 December 2006, Saddam Hussein was hanged by the Iraqi government following a lengthy trial. Coalition manhunting operations were successful; as of November 2005, 44 of 55 members on the "deck of cards" had been captured or killed—80 percent of the Most Wanted Ba'ath Party leaders.[168]

2003 Pakistan

A 29 April raid in Karachi nabbed Waleed bin Attash–an alleged Al Qaeda operational commander suspected of helping plan the October 2000 attack on the USS *Cole* in Yemen–along with five other alleged Al Qaeda operatives.[169]

2003 Thailand

Riduan Isammudin was arrested 11 August. Also known as Hanbali, Isammudin was a key operative of Al Qaeda affiliate Jemaah Islamiyah (JI).[170]

2005 Pakistan

Abu Hamza Rabia, a senior Al Qaeda operational planner, was killed in a December Predator attack in North Waziristan.[171]

2006 Pakistan

A 13 January U.S. air strike in Damadola killed as many as five senior Al Qaeda leaders. Though the raid targeted Al Qaeda second-in-command Ayman al-Zawahiri, he was not killed in the raid.[172] Those killed in the raid may have included Abu Khabab al-Masri, head of the Al Qaeda WMD committee; Abd Rahman al-Masri al-Maghribi, son-in-law of Ayman al-Zawahiri's and an Al Qaeda commander; Abu Ubeidah al-Masri, Kunar Province operations chief; Marwan al-Suri, Waziristan operations chief; Khalid Habib, southeastern Afghanistan regional commander; and Abdul Hadi al-Iraqi, southwestern Afghanistan regional commander.[173]

2006 Horn of Africa, Red Sea, Indian Ocean

Combined Task Force (CTF) 150, an international naval presence off the Horn of Africa, after monitoring increasing piracy off the coast of Somalia, took decisive action on the high seas. A U.S. Navy vessel captured a suspected pirate vessel in the

Indian Ocean and detained 10 alleged pirates on 21 January.[174] On 18 March, USS *Cape St. George* and USS *Gonzalez* returned fire on a group of suspected pirates in the Indian Ocean, killing one and wounding five.[175]

2006 Iraq

Jordanian-born Abu Musayb al Zarqawi sealed his own fate by releasing an egocentric videotaped message on 25 April, ostensibly to inspire his followers. Intelligence analysts, working with Iraqi counterparts, isolated and identified the area in which the video had been shot. This narrowed the search space for Zarqawi. In late April 2006, coalition forces conducted raids on the town of Youssifiyah, during which they killed or captured three of Zarqawi's lieutenants and seized a wealth of documents and other intelligence material. Coalition forces began to shadow Zarqawi's spiritual advisor, Sheikh Abu Abdul-Rahman al-Iraqi. Jordanian officials and local Iraqis who lived near Zarqawi's hideout in the vicinity of Hibhib provided additional information. Shadowing the sheikh, special operations reconnaissance teams were led to a modest farmhouse, where a dinner party was taking place. As the meeting broke up, F-16 fighters dropped a single 500-pound GBU-12 laser-guided bomb, followed shortly by a GBU-38 satellite-guided weapon. The laser-guided bomb made a direct hit, killing three men and three women, including one of Zarqawi's most trusted couriers. Zarqawi suffered massive internal injuries in the attack, but lived for nearly an hour. Iraqi police were first to arrive on the scene. With poetic justice, in his last moments, Zarqawi attempted to roll off his stretcher as he witnessed the arrival of U.S. soldiers. The U.S. ambassador reported, "The information that led to his location and to the attack that subsequently took place came from those that were arrested, senior members of Al Qaeda in Iraq that are in our custody."[176]

2006-2007 Somalia, Djibouti

United States forces of Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa based out of Djibouti pursued Al Qaeda operatives sheltered by the Islamic Courts as they fled from Ethiopian and Somali forces beginning 25 December. The USS *Eisenhower* carrier battle group repositioned from the Persian Gulf. On 8 January, a U.S. AC-130 gunship carried out a strike near Ras Kamboni, followed on 9 January by American helicopter gunship strikes against Al Qaeda camps. The targets were described as "the senior Al Qaeda leader in East Africa and an Al Qaeda operative wanted for his involvement in the 1998 bombings of two American embassies in Africa." Fazul Abdullah Mohammed and Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan were the two operatives wanted for the embassy bombings. Fazul was Al Qaeda's operations chief for East Africa, while al-Sudani was the chief strategist and ideologue. Abu Taha al-Sudani (or Tariq Abdullah) was the Al Qaeda regional commander in East Africa.[177]

2007 Sudan

The United States employed economic and financial sanctions over the summer against individuals to dissuade the Sudanese government from committing genocide in the Darfur region of Africa.[178]

2007 Iraq

The numbers of senior Al Qaeda operatives killed or captured steadily increased after the troop surge began in June, with 19 senior Al Qaeda killed or captured in July, 25 in August, 29 in September, and 45 senior Al Qaeda in Iraq operatives killed or captured during the month of October. Daily raids conducted by Task Force 88, hunter-killer teams assigned to dismantle Al Qaeda's network in Iraq, resulted in significant losses for the terror network.[179] After a visit to Iraq, a retired senior Army officer reported the following:

> … special operations capability is simply magic. They are deadly in getting their target—with normally zero collateral damage—and with minimal friendly losses or injuries. Some of these assault elements have done 200-300 take-down operations at platoon level. The comprehensive intelligence system is phenomenal. We need to rethink how we view these forces. They are a national strategic system akin to a B1 bomber. We need to understand that the required investment level in the creation of these forces demands substantial dedicated UAV systems, intelligence, and communications resources. These special operations formations cannot by themselves win the nation's wars. However, with them we have a tool of enormous and decisive strategic significance that has crucial importance in the global war on terrorists.[180]

2007 Qayyarah, Iraq

An MQ-5 Hunter UAV monitoring a major thoroughfare for coalition forces engaged and killed two men suspected of emplacing an improvised explosive device (IED) on 1 September. A scout weapons team from 2nd Battalion, 25th Aviation Regiment, 25th Combat Aviation Brigade observed the two unknown enemy fighters near the roadside. The scouts requested support from the Hunter UAV. Pilots guided the Hunter operator to the scene where it set up for a strike mission and dropped a precision weapon, killing both unknown enemies. This was the first time a Hunter UAV conducted a lethal engagement.[181]

2007 Afghanistan, United States

Afghan President Hamid Karzai, during a 28 October interview with American media, openly called for an end to the use of airpower during military operations in Afghanistan, due to civilian casualties caused by air strikes. Karzai stated he made a similar request directly to President Bush during private discussions.[182]

2007 Iraq

On 24 December, the 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 3rd Infantry Division received a tip-off from local citizens that several insurgents were crossing the Tigris River toward Baghdad. Confirming the occupants were hostile, Apache helicopters destroyed two vehicles with Hellfire missiles, killing a "high value target linked to suicide bomb attacks, including the car bombing of the Australian Embassy in Baghdad." [183]

2007-present Northern Iraq, Turkey

In response to growing tensions between Turkey, Iraq, and the international community, the United States provided Turkey with "actionable intelligence"—including information that could be used to target with lethal force—on militant elements of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) operating in Northern Iraq.[184] By 25 December, Turkish military leaders claimed air strikes killed over 150 PKK insurgents and struck over 200 targets.[185] On 4 February 2008, a statement posted on the Turkish Army's Web site said about 70 targets in Avashin, Basyan, and Hakurk were hit in air strikes that began at 3 a.m. and lasted 12 hours. The Turkish military said the targets were identified as "belonging to the PKK terrorist organization by intelligence sources," and the attacks were conducted in a manner designed to avoid civilian casualties. Several similar attacks in January caused no casualties.[186]

2008 Iraq

Coalition forces launched Operation Phantom Phoenix on 8 January, a nationwide effort "to pursue Al Qaeda and other extremists wherever they attempt to take sanctuary." Concerned Local Citizen groups provided tips for criminals and weapons and ammunition caches and cooperated with the Government of Iraq. Nonlethal aspects of the operation were designed to improve delivery of essential services, economic development, and local governance capacity.[187] On 10-11 January, with tip-offs provided by Concerned Local Citizen "bird-dogs" and confirmed by Army elements, two U.S. Air Force B-1B bombers and four F-16 fighters dropped Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAMs) on 50 targets in the Arab Jabour area south of Baghdad, killing two senior Al Qaeda in Iraq operatives along with 32 foot soldiers during fighting in Arab Jabour, Miqdadiyah, and the Samarra region. Another 34 Al Qaeda fighters were reported captured.[188] General Mustafa, the leader of a Concerned Local Citizens group in the Arab Jabour, claimed 21 Al Qaeda operatives were killed during the 10 January raids, including Walid Khudair, the leader of Al Qaeda in the southern belts of Baghdad. A follow-up strike was launched on 16 January, hitting 17 targets. On 20 January, U.S. Air Force B-1 bombers and Marine and Navy F-18 fighter-bombers dropped 35 bombs with a total weight of 19,000 pounds on safe houses, deep-buried IEDs, and weapons caches identified by Concerned Local Citizens.[189]

2008 Pakistan

An air strike by a Predator aircraft killed senior Al Qaeda leader abu Laith al Libi in Khushali Tari Khel, Waziristan on 29 January.[190] A top-tier Al Qaeda leader, abu Laith al Libi, was the leader of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group and also served as a chief spokesman for Al Qaeda. Laith also commanded Al Qaeda forces in Afghanistan.[191] Villagers reported seeing an aerial drone before the attack and that the strike killed 12 foreigners of Arabic or Central Asian ethnicity.[192] He was killed at the house of Abdul Sattar, a cab driver suspected of having ties to local and foreign militants. U.S. and Pakistani officials declined to comment officially on any

U.S. involvement.[193] Rumors indicated Egyptian explosives expert Abu Ubaida al Masri may have also been killed in the attack, but reports were inconclusive.[194]

2008 Iraq

In negotiating a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with the Iraqi government, the United States sought to preserve the right to hunt down foreign fighters, gather intelligence, and conduct counterterrorism activities. The SOFA replaced a United Nations Security Council Resolution governing the coalition presence in Iraq. The SOFA articulated when military activities could be conducted unilaterally and when they must be coordinated with the Iraqi government.[195]

U.S. military representatives revealed nine Iraqi civilians were accidentally killed and three more were wounded in an air strike in Iskandariya, 25 miles south of Baghdad on 2 February. The strike intended to target Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) militants. Iraqi police claimed the strike, called in support of a military convoy, mistakenly targeted Iraqi civilian guards hired to counter Al Qaeda.[196]

2008 Afghanistan

An air strike in the Bakwa district of Farah province killed two Taliban commanders. A third Taliban commander who owned the house, Mullah Manan, escaped with four other fighters, but two other Taliban commanders in the compound were killed by a ground and air attack. Six civilians were also killed in the attack. A provincial official who declined to be named said the civilians were family members of the Taliban commander.[197]

2008 Iraq

Arkan Khalaf Khudayyir, also known as Karrar, was killed during a raid by coalition forces in Khan Bani Sa'ad on 17 February. Multinational Forces Iraq often used the generic term *coalition forces* to describe Task Force 88, special operations hunter-killer teams tasked with dismantling Al Qaeda in Iraq's senior leaders and wider network.[198]

A 27 February helicopter strike killed AQI leader Abu Yasir al-Saudi, who was the Southeast Mosul Emir for AQI and led a foreign terrorist facilitation network in the city. Intelligence reports led coalition forces to an area where the wanted terrorists were believed to be operating. Coalition forces confirmed their location and directed a precision helicopter strike, killing the two terrorists and destroying their vehicle. Once the area was secure, the ground force confirmed that Abu Yasir al-Saudi and another wanted terrorist, Hamdan, were killed during the strike. Abu Yasir conducted numerous attacks against Iraqi and coalition forces, including the 28 January IED attack that killed five coalition soldiers. Within the Mosul AQI network, Abu Yasir al-Saudi worked for an alleged AQI military leader detained by coalition forces 18 February.[199] Multinational Forces Iraq said 142 Al Qaeda leaders and operatives were killed or captured in Mosul since January.[200]

2008 Pakistan

A missile, believed to have been fired by a U.S. UAV, struck a house near Kaloosha village near the Afghanistan border of Waziristan on 28 February, killing at least 10 suspected militants and injuring 7, most of them believed to be Arab. "A security official said he believed the missile was fired by U.S. forces, who were operating in neighboring Afghanistan, and that the house belonged to a Pashtun tribesman, Sher Mohammad Malikkheil (a.k.a. Seroo), who was known to have links to militants."[201]

2008 United States

In late February, The U.S. Marine Corps formally announced that its Combat Hunter program would be implemented nationwide after its successful 2007 introduction at Camp Pendleton. Combat Hunter was designed to help Marines stalk and kill insurgents by using their senses and instincts. It emphasized a Marine's keen observation of surroundings and meticulous knowledge of the foe's habits. Taught by a cadre of instructors including former law enforcement officers and big game hunters, Combat Hunter also taught human behavioral analysis, law enforcement profiling techniques, and big game hunting and tracking practices. Col Clarke Lethin, chief of staff for the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force described the training as follows:

> This is the most comprehensive training of its kind in our history. These are primal skills that we all have, but that we evolved out of. We are going back in time. The Marines who go through this program will never be the same. They'll never look at the world the same again.[202]

2008 Somalia

The U.S. military targeted "known Al Qaeda terrorist" and FBI Most Wanted terrorist Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan in the early hours of 2 March near the village of Dobley (also transliterated Dhoobley), 140 miles from the port of Kismayu.[203] A defense official said the strike used one or more Tomahawk cruise missiles fired from a U.S. submarine off Somalia's coast. Nabhan was wanted for questioning in connection with the 1998 suicide bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The Council of Islamic Courts, a radical Islamic movement that ruled much of southern Somalia in 2006, took over Dobley in late February 2008, led by senior official Hassan Turki. Turki was on U.S. and United Nations lists of suspected terrorists for alleged ties to Al Qaida. Turki's fate after the strike was unknown.[204]

2008 Iraq

Major General Kevin Bergner, the spokesman for Multinational Forces Iraq, said in a briefing in Baghdad on 5 March Iraqi and coalition forces continued to pressure and disrupt AQI and other extremist groups. In recent weeks, Iraqi and coalition forces captured or killed 26 senior leaders in the AQI terrorist network. Eight

were Al Qaeda emirs, meaning they exercised responsibility for a geographic or functional area. Five were Al Qaeda cell leaders. The remaining 13 were terrorist facilitators.[205]

2008 Thailand, Russia, United States

Victor Bout (pronounced "boot") and codefendant Andrew Smulian were arrested 6 March in Bangkok and charged with conspiring to sell weapons, including surface-to-air missile (SAM) systems and armor piercing rocket launchers, to the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) officials announced. Bout built a logistics network through a spider web of front companies and airlines that included a fleet of 50 aging Russian cargo aircraft. He was accused of violating United Nations arms embargos to fly weapons to the Taliban in Afghanistan, Liberian dictator Charles Taylor, Zaire dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, and Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi. Changing passports and adopting aliases, Bout reinvented himself and his companies regularly to make it difficult to locate him. In 2002, he moved from Brussels to Moscow after Belgian authorities issued a warrant for his arrest. Efforts to stop Bout intensified after 11 September 2001, leading to a 2003 United Nations report detailing his activities. Former British Foreign Office Minister Peter Hain described the report: "The U.N. exposed Bout as the center of a spider's web of shady arms dealers, diamond brokers, and other operatives, sustaining the wars." In April 2005, the U.S. Treasury Department froze Bout's assets and identified 30 companies connected with him. "Shortly after the breakup of the Soviet Union, Bout, a former Soviet air force officer with a gift for languages, was able to acquire surplus or obsolete airplanes, which he used to deliver arms and ammunition from old Soviet stockpiles," the Treasury report said. "Notably, information available to the U.S. government shows that Bout profited $50 million from supplying the Taliban with military equipment when they ruled Afghanistan. Today, Bout has the capacity to transport tanks, helicopters, and weapons by the tons to virtually any point in the world."[206]

According to the DEA, between November 2007 and February 2008, Bout agreed to sell weapons to the FARC. According to a DEA press release, "during a series of consensually recorded meetings in Romania, Smulian advised the confidential sources (CSs), among other things, that Bout had 100 SAMs available immediately and could also provide helicopters and armor-piercing rocket launchers. During one of the meetings with the CSs, Smulian provided one of the CSs with a digital memory stick that contained an article about Bout, and documents containing photographs and specifications for the SAMs and armor-piercing rocket launchers that Smulian had previously said Bout could provide. In between his meetings with the CSs, Smulian spoke to Bout over a cell phone provided to him by one of the CSs at the direction of the DEA. During one of these conversations, Bout and Smulian discussed the $5 million delivery fee for the weapons. Bout and Smulian were charged with conspiracy to provide materiel support or resources to a designated foreign terrorist organization. If convicted, the defendants each faced a maximum sentence of 15 years imprisonment."[207] Thai authorities said an

investigation to determine whether both men violated Thai laws would be conducted before granting extradition to the United States.[208]

2008 Afghanistan, Pakistan

Coalition forces targeted the Haqqani network, a powerful Taliban splinter group based in the Pakistani tribal state of North Waziristan, in a series of cross-border strikes into Pakistan. On 12 March, precision-guided munitions struck a compound owned by a senior member of the network. The strike occurred after multiple intelligence sources confirmed the presence of the group's upper echelon inside the compound. At 9:40 p.m. local time, U.S. officials declared the group posed an imminent threat to forces inside Afghanistan and authorized the strike. Fixed- and rotary-wing aircraft, along with Predator UAV, scanned likely insurgent-attack positions inside Afghanistan. Military officials confirmed no women or children had been seen in the targeted compound or in any structures near it over the previous 5 days. Intelligence sources confirmed several other high level Haqqani commanders, including Sirajjudin Haqqani, had planned to attend a meeting. Nearly 4 hours later a salvo of indirect fire targeting the compound obliterated the building and killed an unknown number of occupants. Initial intelligence reports indicated three high level Haqqani network commanders had been killed on 12 March and that many Chechen fighters also died in the blast.[209]

On 16 March, state-run Pakistani television reported a devastating explosion destroyed the fortress-like home of a tribal elder in South Waziristan. Foreign fighters and Taliban insurgents were believed to be among the 20 people dead and five others injured. Residents reported seeing a drone circling the village shortly before the blasts occurred and said foreigners with links to Al Qaeda had lived in the area for some time. One of three missiles fired from an unidentified location was responsible for the massive explosion, according to witnesses. The blasts destroyed a fortified compound owned by Pakistani tribal elder, Noorullah Wazir, who lived in the village of Dhook Pir Bagh some 5 kilometers from Wana, and a second house where Uzbek and Arab fighters recently stayed, owned by Safraz Khan, a tribesman sympathetic to the Taliban. Eight to ten fighters were believed killed in the attack on the second compound.[210]

On 6 April, a series of coalition airstrikes killed 16 people after intelligence sources reveal Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leading a faction of Hizb-e-Islami, was in the Dohabi (Doab) district trying to meet with Kashmir Khan, his top military commander.[211]

As if to underscore the effectiveness of the attacks, extremists in Pakistan's western tribal areas killed dozens of people suspected of providing intelligence to the United States and its allies, releasing video footage of several executions.[212]

Anonymous U.S. officials and Pakistani sources said the recent wave of Predator attacks were at least partly the result of understandings that high level American visitors reached with Musharraf and other top Pakistanis, giving the United States virtually unrestricted authority to hit Al Qaeda targets in the border areas.[213]

2008 Somalia

A 1 May strike by U.S. Navy Tomahawk cruise missiles on Dusamareb, Somalia killed Aden Hashi Ayro and 10 other people. Ayro was the military commander of al-Shabab terrorist group, while one of the others killed was Sheikh Muhidin Maalin Umar, the al-Shabab spokesman. Ayro, trained in Afghanistan, was an instrumental figure when the Union of Islamic Courts took control of Mogadishu in the second half of 2006.[214]

2008 Pakistan

On 14 May, a U.S. air strike killed Abu Sulayman Jazairi and 13 associates in an attack against a Taliban and Al Qaeda safe housein the town of Damadola in Pakistan's Bajaur tribal agency. A senior Algerian operative for Al Qaeda's central organization who directed the group's external operations, Jazairi was known to be an instructor, an explosives expert, and an operational commander tasked with planning attacks on the West. The Pakistani government protested the air strike as a violation of Pakistani's territorial sovereignty. Taliban elements carried out several suicide attacks inside Pakistan in retaliation.[215]

2008 Iraq

An attack by an American helicopter near Baiji killed eight civilians, including two children, on 21 May. The military confirmed the strike, which occurred during an operation against Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, a Sunni insurgent group believed to be led by foreign fighters. "The targeted individuals were known terrorists who were operating a facility used for weapons storage." Expressing regret about the loss of innocent life and stating that an investigation would explore the incident, a military spokesman said the attack took place only after the other occupants of the vehicle "exhibited hostile intent."[216] The military said the attacks by AH-64 Apache helicopter-gunships saved lives and prevented attacks, despite criticism from the Iraqis. Colonel Timothy J. Edens, commander of the 12th Combat Aviation Brigade, said the strikes were as "precise as very hardworking soldiers and commanders can make it. These criminals do not operate in a clean battlespace. It is occupied by civilians, law-abiding Iraqis." Soldiers working in 12-hour shifts often monitored targets for hours. Major Will Downing, operations center supervisor, described insurgent tactics: "The challenge you run into is he can shoot a rocket and pull into a garage. They shoot and they are gone." Six Apaches were kept airborne around the clock, tied into a command center several miles from their airstrip and working in concert with unmanned drones. In late March over 200 Hellfire missiles were expended in the Baghdad area alone, compared to six missiles fired in the previous 3 months.[217]

2008 Pakistan

Security officials in Peshawar, Pakistan announced their belief that a top Al Qaeda expert on chemical and biological weapons was killed in an air strike on 28 July. Egyptian-born abu Khabab al Masri, whose true name was Midhat Mursi al-Sayid

Umar, was believed to have been the target of a missile strike fired by a suspected U.S. drone. The 55 year-old Egyptian militant was believed to be one of three Arab males and three boys killed when missiles struck a house in Azam Warsak, south Waziristan owned by a local tribesman, Malik Salat. The United States had placed a $5 million reward for information leading to his apprehension or death. Residents said they heard U.S. aircraft and Predator drones flying about the area before and after the strike. Pakistan's military announced it was still seeking confirmation, as Umar was erroneously reported killed in a January 2006 air strike in the Bajaur tribal region. Al Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri issued a eulogy confirming abu-Khabab's martyrdom.[218]

A missile strike destroyed a compound near Angore Adda in South Waziristan on 12 August. Pakistani military sources said that nine suspected insurgents were killed, including foreigners, while Pakistani intelligence claims the strike killed 22 to 25 people, including Arab, Turkmen, and Pakistani militants in a camp commanded by an Afghan identified as Commander Zangeer linked to Afghan warlord Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. American military spokesmen denied involvement. Press sources attributed past strikes in the area to CIA Predator drones.[219]

2008 Afghanistan

On 22 August, U.S. Special Forces and Afghan national army elements called in air support from an AC-130 gunship near the western Afghan village of Azizabad. The gunship concentrated its attack on two houses after U.S. and Afghan force came under fire. The Afghan government claimed 76 to 90 civilians were killed, including 60 children. A United Nations inquiry claimed the Afghan numbers had been corroborated. The United States, after reviewing the incident, believed its figures were accurate.[220] U.S. military officials said at least 30 insurgents were killed, including the commander, who was known as Mullah Siddiq. A U.S. military spokeswoman dismissed the Afghan government's assertions that scores of civilians had been killed in the attack as "outrageous." Lt Col Rumi Nielson-Green said U.S. forces inspected the site and found five civilians had been killed. An anonymous U.S. official in Washington commented the Taliban was adept at spreading false intelligence to draw U.S. strikes on civilians. "The fact is that the Taliban now has pretty good insight into where we're picking up information and how we're developing it into actionable intelligence …. They've figured out a way to misguide us." [221]

2008 Pakistan

At least five Al Qaeda operatives were reported killed in a 31 August attack launched by unmanned Predator aircraft hovering over Wana. The strike targeted the home of Noor Khan Wazir in the Korzai region near Wana, which had recently been rented to foreigners. "Two Canadians of Arab origin" were killed, and two ethnic Punjabis were wounded. The Wana attack was the eighth confirmed U.S. strike on Al Qaeda and Taliban safe houses and camps in Pakistan in 2008.[222]

In the first known ground incursion into Pakistan since the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, U.S. troops conducted a helicopter assault, crossing the border from Afghanistan to raid suspected Al Qaeda targets in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan on 3 September. Pentagon officials, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the raid by SOF targeted suspected Al Qaeda operatives and signaled a possible intensification of American efforts to disrupt militant safe havens in Pakistan.[223] The Pakistani Foreign Ministry called the raid into south Waziristan "a grave provocation … a gross violation of Pakistan's territory," saying that 20 civilians, including women and children, were killed in the raid, according to the governor of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP), Owais Ahmed Ghani.[224] Pakistan's parliament passed a resolution condemning the raid on 4 September.[225] U.S. forces based in Afghanistan periodically entered Pakistan in "hot pursuit" of militants. According to Pakistani sources, two helicopters flew Afghan and American troops to raid Musa Nika, a small village from which a rocket had been launched against a convoy in Afghanistan.[226]

The raid came in the wake of an admission by Pakistan's Interior Minister, Rehman Malik, that Al Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri and his wife had been moving freely between Mohmand in the FATA and Afghanistan's Kunar and Paktia provinces. Malik also said that Pakistan had "missed the chance" to apprehend Al Qaeda's second in command. Pakistani officials claimed that approximately 560 Pakistani and foreign fighters had been killed during recent offensives in the tribal areas of Khyber, Bajur and the Swat valley, while government forces suffered 20 dead and 30 missing.[227]

The attack also followed a 26 August military summit in the Indian Ocean aboard the aircraft carrier USS *Abraham Lincoln*.[228] Pakistan Army commander General Ashfaq Kayani and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Michael G. Mullen and other senior U.S. military officials participated in the council of war.[229] A senior DoD official said the meeting had discussed how the U.S. could help Pakistan's military increase its counterinsurgency efforts in response to increased militant violence, threats from senior Al Qaeda leaders, and the resignation of longtime U.S. ally President Pervez Musharraf.[230]

2008 Afghanisan

On 4 September, an American UAV struck a large house in Chaar Kehl, Afghanistan, approximately 16 miles west of Miran Shah, Pakistan. The attack occurred at approximately 5 p.m. and reportedly killed seven Arab men. Another source said the attack killed four to five "foreigners," suspected to be Islamist militants from Central Asia or Arab countries.[231] On 5 September, a missile strike on a group of houses in southern Afghanistan by an American UAV killed 6 to 12 people. Residents in Miran Shah reported three missiles hit a target in Afghan territory, striking two residential compounds in Al Must, a village in the Gurwak border region less than a mile from the border. Residents of Al Must said UAVs were seen in the area around 9 a.m. and that the dead included men of Arab origin as well as two women and three children. The houses belonged to Hakeem Khan and

Arsala Khan, but it was common in these areas for residents to rent portions of their homes to foreigners, especially Arabs planning attacks on NATO forces in Afghanistan.[232]

2008 Pakistan

Five missiles launched from a suspected U.S. UAV hit a compound in North Waziristan belonging to Jalaluddin Haqqani on 8 September at around 10:20 a.m. The Taliban leader was suspected of organizing recent attacks in Afghanistan against U.S. and NATO troops, as well as the assassination of former Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The attack reportedly killed 23 people and wounded at least 18, according to Pakistani intelligence officials. Two top Al Qaeda operatives were among four foreign militants killed. Pakistani intelligence identified four foreign militants killed in the Monday strike as Abu Qasim, Abu Musa, Abu Hamza, and Abu Haris. Abu Haris led Al Qaeda efforts in the tribal areas, while Abu Hamza led activities in Peshawar, the main northwest city. Abu Hamza was from Saudi Arabia, the officials said. Abu Hamza was believed to be a bomb-making expert as well. Abu Qasim was Egyptian, while Abu Musa also was Saudi, but both appeared to be lower-ranking Al Qaeda members. Abu Haris's nationality had yet to be confirmed. The attacks were part of a renewed effort to cripple Al Qaeda's central command that began in early 2007 and picked up speed as President Bush's term in office wound down, according to U.S. and Pakistani officials involved in the operations. The search for bin Laden and his lieutenants took place primarily from the air—CIA officers and U.S. Special Forces were prevented from operating freely in Pakistan.[233]

2008 Syria

On 26 October four U.S. helicopters conducted a cross-border raid near Sukkiraya, 5 miles across the Syria-Iraqi border from Qaim, Iraq.[234] The special operations raid targeted Badran Turki Hishan al-Mazidih (a.k.a. Abu Ghadiyah), who was named commander for Syrian logistics in 2004 by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Several armed associates were also killed.[235] American troops crossed the border several times since 2003 in hot pursuit of militants, and warplanes in some cases allegedly violated Syria's airspace, including a significant May 2005 firefight.[236]

2008-2009 Pakistan

In January, U.S. and Pakistani authorities intensified the hunt for Baitullah Mehsud, commander of Tehrik-I-Taliban, charged by Islamabad and Washington with ordering nearly 20 major suicide attacks across Pakistan in the previous 3 months, including the 27 December assassination of Benazir Bhutto. Believed to reside in a south Waziristan stronghold, Mehsud may have overseen an Al Qaeda plan to weaken the Pakistani government.[237] Mehsud was believed killed in a 5 August 2009 Predator air strike on a compound in South Waziristan. Unnamed Pakistani intelligence officials said the CIA launched the missile after Pakistan confirmed

Mehsud's presence in the compound. A video shared with Pakistani intelligence showed Mehsud and his vehicle at the compound.[238]

2009 Pakistan

The administration of President Barack Obama signaled its willingness to continue lethal UAV strikes in Pakistan. A 23 January UAV strike employing three Hellfire missiles against a compound in Zera (near Mir Ali in North Waziristan) reportedly killed 10 people. A second strike against a compound in Gangi Khel (near Wana in South Waziristan) killed 10 others. Local press reports acknowledged that "foreigners" were among the dead.[239] A 14 February Predator UAV strike in South Waziristan targeted a Taliban commander's compound in Malik Khel, killing at least 25 Al Qaeda, Taliban, and Uzbek fighters.[240]

On 6 February, Predator UAVs launched at least four Hellfire missiles at a Taliban training camp in Kurram Agency (FATA), killing at least 30 Taliban fighters, with many more possibly buried in the rubble.[241]

On 26 February, CIA director Leon Panetta confirmed the strikes had been successful to date, and would continue. "Nothing has changed our efforts to go after terrorists, and nothing will change those efforts," Panetta said. "I don't think we can stop just at the effort to try to disrupt them. I think it has to be a continuing effort, because they aren't going to stop." [242]

A 1 March Predator attack with two Hellfire missiles killed eight people and wounded seven others in the village of Hebat Khan in the Sararogha region.[243]

On 12 March, a strike targeted a Taliban compound and training camp in the Barjo region in Kurram with at least four Hellfire missiles. A villager told Reuters "The training camp was completely destroyed." [244]

A 15 March attack against a compound in the town of Jani Khel, NWFP, reportedly killed two Al Qaeda and two Taliban operatives.[245]

Appendix B. International Manhunting Operations

334-331 BC Persian Empire (modern day Turkey, Iraq and Iran)
Alexander the Great based his strategy for conquest of the Persian Empire on the capture of King Darius III, also known as Darius Codomanus. Alexander pursued Darius 400 miles in 11 days after the Battle of Gaugamela (331 BC), but Darius was betrayed and murdered by his cousin Bessus and Persian commanders.[246]

190-183BC Mediterranean
Romans pursued Hannibal. Hannibal eluded his Roman pursuers, finally taking poison in the vicinity of Tyre.[247]

73-71BC Italy
Roman pursued Spartacus and an army of escaped gladiators and slaves.[248]

44BC Rome
Members of the Roman Senate conspired to assassinate Julius Caesar. The assassination sounded a death knell for republican rule, leading to imperial dictatorship.[249]

1090-1272 AD Middle East
The Hashashim, a mystic sect of warriors, cultivated a fearsome reputation by carrying out targeted assassinations of Muslim leaders, often in Mosques or other public places. They may have carried out targeted assassinations of Crusaders as well.[250]

1170 England
Sir Thomas Beckett, Archbishop of Canterbury, exacerbated tensions with his former close friend, King Henry II. Henry was rumored to have raised his head from his sickbed, crying out, "will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?" Interpreting the King's words as an order, knights Reginald FitzUrse, Hugh de Moreville, William de Tracy, and Richard le Breton paid a call on Becket in December. An argument ensued, and the four followed the high priest into the cathedral, striking him down with sword blows as Becket conducted vespers.[251]

1291-1305 Scotland
The English pursued Scottish rebel William Wallace. Braveheart's rebellion started with an argument with soldiers over a catch of fish and ended in full-scale war.[252]

1300-1868 Feudal Japan

Ninja—warriors specially trained in assassination, intelligence, and martial arts—appeared in popular folklore. Nearly 70 secret organizations practiced the art, primarily centered in the Iga and Koga regions. The most famous ninja, Hattori Hanzo, lived from 1541 to 1596.[253]

1462 Wallachia (present-day Romania)

The Night Attack (in Romanian, atacul de Noapte). Mehmet II abandoned his siege of Corinth and invaded Wallachia when Vlad III (Vlad Tepes, a.k.a. Dracula) refused to pay tribute to the Ottoman Empire and massacres 23,000 Turks and Bulgarians. Advancing to a position south of Târgoviște, Mehmet II made camp prior to laying seige. Before making his attack, Dracula reportedly entered the Turkish camp disguised as a Turk and wandered around to find the location of the Sultan's tent and learn about his organization. Hoping to kill Mehmet in his tent, Dracula launched an attack by torchlight on the night of 17 June 3 hours after sunset, which lasted until approximately 4 a.m. While accounts vary about the result of the Night Attack, Dracula was reported to have mistaken the tent of two high-ranking viziers for the Sultan's tent. The sultan escaped, though the attack caused much confusion and turmoil.[254]

1519 Aztec Empire (present-day Mexico)

Hernan Cortes marched to the Aztec capital city, Tenochtitlan, with 500 conquistadores and native recruits, arriving in November. Invited into the city by the Aztec ruler, Montezuma II, Cortes kidnapped the king. Montezuma was later killed, reportedly stoned to death by his own people. Over the next 2 years, Cortes subdued the Aztec empire, which was unable to resist modern technology and the loss of their ruler.[255]

1532 Inca Empire (present-day Peru)

Francisco Pizarro and 168 conquistadores kidnapped the Inca ruler Atahuallpa during their initial 16 November meeting in the city of Cajamarca. Holding their leader in exchange for gold and silver, Pizarro later garroted Atahuallpa and installed a crony to rule the Incan empire.[256]

1707-1856 England and France

Letters of Marque were issued to French and English citizens for seizure of property and persons lead to sanctioned piracy on the high seas, in the form of privateers.[257]

1746-1750 Scotland, Ireland, England

English government officials and military pursued Charles Eduard Stuart, "Bonnie Prince Charlie." Having led an insurrection that was defeated at the battle of Culloden (1746), Charles evaded English pursuit and went into exile in France.[258]

1780 South Carolina

Following the British capture of Charleston, revolutionary leaders Thomas Sumter, Francis Marion, and associated irregular forces became the focus of British counter-insurgency operations. Charles Earl Cornwallis wrote, "Colonel Marion so wrought on the minds of the people that there was scarcely an inhabitant between the Santee and Pedee that was not in arms against us."[259] On 28 August, Cornwallis sent Major James Wemyss against Marion on the Santee, where Wemyss' force burned homes of Marion's men. Major Micajah Ganey led loyalist dragoons against Marion on 4 September, but Marion defeated the loyalists. Wemyss broke off his pursuit of Marion when an insurgent force defeated loyalists at King's Mountain in early October, causing the British to regroup. In late October, Cornwallis dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton to find Marion. The British Legion under Tarleton employed such brutal counterinsurgency tactics that "Bloody Ban" and "Tarleton's Quarter" became synonymous with wholesale slaughter. Marion and his small band evaded Tarleton by fading into the swamp country. Tarleton reputedly commented, "… as for this damned 'Swamp Fox,' the devil himself could not catch him." The comment gave birth to Marion's nomme de guerre, The Swamp Fox. Cornwallis recalled Tarleton in early November due to the threat of a larger force under Sumter.[260]

1815 Europe

Napoleon Bonaparte returned from exile on the island of Elba on 26 February, starting "The Hundred Days" and his attempt to renew the glory of Imperial France. On 13 March, representatives assembled at the Congress of Vienna voted to declare Napoleon an outlaw, banished from the empire, while Napoleon was still 5 days from Paris. Within a week, the Quadruple Alliance—Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—agreed to enforce the 1814 Treaty of Chaumont, each planning to field 150,000 men to oppose the Emperor's return from exile.[261] Defeated at Waterloo, Bonaparte was placed under house arrest on the island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic under British guard where he lived out the last 6 years of his life. The four victorious powers agreed that no Bonaparte would ever be allowed to rule France again.[262]

1879-1880 Mexico

Mexican forces combatted Mimbres Apache under the leadership of Victorio. In the latter portion of the campaign, Mexican forces cooperated with American forces. The Mexican Army forces defeated Victorio in October 1880 near Tres Castillas.[263]

1916 Russia

Russian aristocracy plotted and assassinated Grigoriy Yefimovich Rasputin. Multiple attempts were made, and each successive attempt added to Rasputin's reputation.[264]

1919 Mexico

General Pablo Gonzalez and Colonel Jesus Guajardo pursued and killed Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata.[265]

1924-present Egypt

Tensions and violence occured between the Muslim Brotherhood and Egyptian government authorities, including indictment for the 1954 attempted assassination of Gamal Abdel Nassar and the imprisonment, torture, trial, and execution of Muslim Brotherhood leaders including Sayyid Qutb in 1966.[266] The campaign spawned a backlash through formation of violent extremist movements in the latter half of the 20th century.

1939 Holland

Convinced British intelligence was behind a 7 November attempt on Hitler's life, Heinrich Himmler ordered German intelligence agent Walter Schellenberg to kidnap two British intelligence officers in a 7 November raid on the Dutch frontier town of Venlo. Major S. Payne Best and Captain R. Henry Stevens were spirited away to Berlin, while Dutch intelligence officer Klop was killed in a gunfight.[267]

1939-1945 Nazi Germany, Occupied Europe

German officials initiated multiple plots and attempts to kill Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, including those by Johann Georg Elser (1939), General Kurt von Hammerstein (1939), Count Fritz-Dietlof von der Schulenberg (1940), Field Marshal Erwin von Witzleben (1941), Colonel Rudolf von Gertsdorff (1943), General Hubert Lanz (1943), Colonel Henning von Tresckow (1943), Captain Eberhard von Breitenbuch (1944), Captain Axel von dem Bussche (1944), Lieutenant Colonel Count Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg (1944), and Albert Speer (1945).[268]

1939-1945 United Kingdom

The British "Double-Cross" (XX) system identified, "turned" or imprisoned all known German agents in the United Kingdom. XX was crucial to the success of deception operations against Germany.[269]

1940 Mexico

On the orders of Josef Stalin, Stalinist Ramon Mercador assassinated exiled Communist ideologue Leon Trotsky with an ice pick in Mexico City.[270]

1941 France

Operation Savannah, five SOE-trained Free-French paratroopers dropped into occupied France in March to assassinate Luftwaffe pilots assigned to Kampfgeschwader (KG) 100, a German "pathfinder" unit whose operations improved bombing accuracy during the Blitz. The mission was unsuccessful.[271]

1942 Occupied Czechoslovakia

Operation Anthropoid resulted in the assassination of Nazi SS Obergruppenfuhrer Reinhard Heydrich by Free Czech agents under Edvard Benes. The Nazis carried out reprisals against the civilian population.[272]

1942 Occupied Norway

British Royal Air Force (RAF) Mosquito bombers attacked Gestapo Headquarters on 21 March. The raid targeted Vidkun Quisling, the Nazi puppet ruler of occupied Norway, who was to give a rally at the Gestapo headquarters in Oslo that day.[273] The bombs missed the building, killing 80 civilians.[274]

1943 Germany

Perfecting low level, high speed bombing techniques, RAF Mosquitoes raided Berlin on 31 January with the attack timed to interrupt a parade being addressed by Reichsmarshall Hermann Göring. Later on the same day, Mosquitoes similarly disrupted a rally being addressed by Reich Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. The two nuisance raids were used for propaganda effect.[275]

1943-1944 Germany, Italy

On 13 September 1943, Adolf Hitler allegedly ordered General Karl Friederich Wolff to kidnap Pope Pius XII, in response to Catholic Church protection of ethnic Jews and to counter the influence of Christianity in Europe. Known as Operation Rabat, Wolff elected not to execute the plan, which included provisions to kill the Pope if he was uncooperative.[276]

1944 Crete, Egypt

Two British officers conceived a plot to travel to Nazi-occupied Crete and kidnap a German officer. Stanley Moss and Patrick Leigh-Fermor, with the help of local partisans, captured General Heinrich Kreipe, commander of the Sevastopol Division. Narrowly escaping a Nazi manhunt, they successfully spirited him off the island to Egypt, where he became a prize for Allied intelligence.[277]

1944 Independent State of Croatia

From 25 May to 6 June, German airborne forces conducted Operation Rosselsprung (Knight's Leap) in Drvar, Croatia. The operation specifically targeted Yugoslavian Partisans under Josip Broz Tito. Despite intense fighting, Tito escaped to Italy.[278]

1944 France

Operation Gaff was a plan by British units to assassinate Field Marshal Erwin Rommel. Seven members of Second Special Air Service (SAS) parachuted into Ramouillet on 25 July to kill or capture Rommel at his headquarters at La Roche Guyon on the Seine.[279]

1945 Italy

Former Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and his mistress Clara Petacci were kidnapped and summarily executed by communist partisans.[280]

1945 Denmark

RAF Mosquitoes attacked the Gestapo Headquarters in Copenhagen on 21 March. The raid was timed to coincide with the start of the Gestapo workday. 151 Gestapo men were killed and 30 Danish patriots imprisoned in the building escaped. Tragically, one of the raiding aircraft crashed into a school, killing 87 children.[281]

1945-present Worldwide

Jewish Documentation Center pursued Nazi war criminals, particularly research conducted by Simon Wiesenthal and the resultant Simon Wiesenthal Centers.[282]

1945-1991 German Democratic Republic

East German Staatssicherheitsdienst (STASI) operations, led by Markus Wolfe, successfully identified, turned, or captured all western agents operating in East Germany.[283]

1947 Burma

Burmese General Aung San and six cabinet ministers of the Executive Committee were assassinated by armed paramilitary members acting on behalf of rival politician U Saw.[284]

1948 India

Mohandas K. Gandhi was assassinated by conspirators from the Indian state of Maharashtra.

1948-1963 Malaya

During the "Malayan Emergency," British SAS units targeted communist terrorists in response to the murder of English citizens and their employees.[285] In 1948, at the beginning of the Malayan Emergency, groups of Iban and Dayak trackers were recruited to help fight the Communist Party of Malaya. Skilled at interpreting signs in the jungle, for their uncanny sense of direction, and rumored to practice headhunting, Dayak and Iban tribesmen were organized into a regimental formation as the Sarawak Rangers in 1953. The Sarawak Rangers were attached as scouts to many British Commonwealth forces serving in Malaya.[286]

1960 Buenos Aires, Argentina

Israeli Mossad pursued Adolf Eichmann. Eichmann was finally identified in Buenos Aires. Apprehended on his way home, he was drugged and flown to Israel on an El Al airliner, where he faced trial for Nazi activities related to the Holocaust.[287]

1960-1990 Canada, Belgium

Attempts to influence weapons designer Dr. Gerald Bull ultimately led to his assassination in Brussels. Responsibility for Bull's assassination was never conclusively proved, though rumors implicated Israel or Iraq.[288]

1964-1965 Bomeo

Combat Tracker Teams were formed and employed to conduct counterterrorist operations in Borneo and Malaysia, employed into the 1970s and during the Vietnam Conflict.[289] Claret Operations involved raids by British SAS and Ghurka units across the Indonesian border, targeting guerilla forces.[290]

1966-1980 Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)

During the course of the Rhodesian/Zimbabwe War of Independence (Chimurenga War) the Selous Scouts were officially credited with either directly or indirectly being responsible for 68 percent of all terrorists killed, losing fewer than 40 scouts in the process.[291] The Rhodesian Army established the Tracker Combat Unit (TCU), in 1967, growing from a small cadre of 12 bush veterans selected because they were excellent marksmen and trained soldiers. The TCU first operated against Zambian-based terrorists who made an incursion into northern Mashonaland in 1967. When a park ranger detected evidence of insurgents in Zambezi valley campsites, the TCU found 110 communists in camps and killed a significant number. Those left uninjured were followed in a series of pursuits by trackers. Joe Conway, a TCU member, tracked four guerrillas 60 miles across broken terrain for 3 days. The chase ended when the thoroughly demoralized terrorists raised their hands and surrendered. Captured communists complained at their trial that they had been tracked down like wild animals. The TCU was involved in virtually every incident of insurgent infiltration over the next few years. Hundreds of successful pursuits were launched based on TCU information and intelligence. Large numbers of terrorists were killed with only one TCU combat death. TCU's tactics and techniques led the Rhodesian government to mandate similar training throughout the Army. TCU joined the ranks of the Selous Scouts. Several veterans formed Rhodesia's Tracking and Bushcraft School at Lake Kariba.[292] Operations by Grey's Scouts, a Rhodesian mounted counterterrorist unit, tracked Zambian terrorists deep into the African veldt.[293]

1967-1974 Mexico

Mexican government counterinsurgency operations were carried out against Lucio Cabanas and the Peasant Brigade of Execution in the Sierra Madre del Sur.[294]

1968 South Korea

On 20 January, armed North Korean guerrillas under the Revolutionary Party for Reunification infiltrated into Seoul in two- and three-man cells. The North Korean troop's mission was to assassinate President Park Chung-Hee. The team leader

was forced to improvise a new plan on 21 January 1968, when he noted increased security measures. Changing into uniforms of the local Republic of Korea (ROK) Army 26th Infantry Division, the guerilla unit formed up to march the last mile to the President's Blue House. The deception succeeded until a police contingent halted the unit and began to question its members approximately 500 meters from the Blue House. When the nervous North Koreans fumbled their replies, a suspicious policeman drew his pistol. A commando shot him, and a melee ensued in which two infiltrators died. The North Koreans scattered and began evading toward the Demilitarized Zone. For the next several days, South Korean and American soldiers and police conducted a massive manhunt. Three infiltrators were killed in the Seoul area, 25 others were eventually killed in various firefights, and one captured. Two of the 31 North Koreans were unaccounted for. During the course of this assassination attempt, South Korean forces sustained 68 killed and 66 wounded; casualties included members of the ROK army, law enforcement, and approximately 24 civilians. Three Americans died, and three were wounded.[295]

1968-1971 South Korea

In response to the attempt on President Park's life, South Korea formed Unit 684, a 31-member commando unit. The unit reportedly was trained under harsh conditions on the island Slimi-Do, in preparation for a mission to assassinate North Korean President Kim Jong IL. When relations improved, the mission was cancelled. Left on the island, Unit 684 rebelled against the South Korean government in 1971. Most of the members committed suicide.[296]

1969-2007 Northern Ireland

Operation Banner, British Royal Army counterterrorism support to law enforcement elements in Northern Ireland disrupted terrorist cells and captured or killed numerous Irish Republican Army members.[297]

1972 Syria, Israel, Lebanon

Operation Crate-3, Sayaret Matkal operatives kidnapped five Syrian intelligence officers who were conducting a border tour with Palestinian terrorists. The Syrians were employed as bargaining chips to negotiate a prisoner exchange for Israelis captured by the Palestinian Liberation Organization.[298]

1972-1973 Western Europe, Lebanon, Israel

Israel's response to Black September killings of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics included the "Avner" manhunting team, Mossad's Operation Wrath of God, and Sayaret Mat'kal's Operation Spring of Youth. During the Avner team's 2-year deployment, 8 of 11 intended targets were killed; collateral damage included one KGB officer, four PLO security personnel, and one freelance assassin in exchange for two team members lost. Mossad agents mistook Moroccan waiter Mohamed Bouchiki for Black September terrorist Ali Hassan Salameh in Lillehammer,

Norway, leading to the arrest and imprisonment of four Israelis. Israel's pursuit of those responsible spread to Western Europe and Norway. On the night of 9 to 10 April 1973, Sayeret commandos, one disguised as a woman, conducted three simultaneous assassinations of Black September leaders in West Beirut.[299]

1972-present Israel, Lebanon, Palestinian territories

The Israeli government continued targeted killing of Islamic extremist leaders. The Israeli government referred to the operations as "extrajudicial punishment," "selective targeting," or "long-range hot pursuit." Led and carried out by small, highly trained special operations units from Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), the General Security Service (GSS), and the Mossad, the killings were often carried out by helicopter gunships, IDF fighter-bombers, and UAVs. Notable operations included April 1973, when Israeli commandos landed in Beirut and killed senior members of the Fatah movement including Yasir Arafat's deputy Yusuf Najjar and the Fatah spokesman Kamal Nasir. Israel may have been behind the 1979 explosion in Beirut that killed Hasan 'Ali Salamah, founder of Fatah's elite Force 17. In April 1988 an Israeli commando force landed in Tunis and killed the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) military branch Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad). In October 1995, following a series of suicide attacks that claimed the lives of dozens of Israelis, Mossad agents shot and killed the head of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), Fathi Shiqaqi, in Malta. Three months later, a booby-trapped cellular phone exploded, killing Hamas member Yahya 'Ayyash, also known as "The Engineer," who masterminded suicide attacks in which 50 Israelis died and 340 were wounded. In February 1992, Israeli helicopters fired on the car of Hizbullah leader 'Abbas Musawi, killing him and members of his entourage. Amal's operations officer, Hussam al-Amin, was killed in a similar operation in August 1998.

On 9 November 2000, near the West Bank town of Bethlehem, an Israeli Apache helicopter fired a laser-guided missile at the vehicle of Husayn 'Abayat, killing him and wounding his deputy. Similar operations on 13 February 2001 killed Mas'ud 'Iyyad, a Force 17 officer trying to establish a Hizbullah cell in the Gaza Strip, and PIJ activist Muhammad 'Abd al-'Al, who according to the IDF was responsible for terrorist acts and was on his way to carry out two major attacks. On 22 July 2002, a 2,000-lb bomb—dropped from an F-16 fighter jet—killed Salah Shihada, the leader and founder of Hamas' military wing of 'Izz ad-Din al-Qassam in Gaza.[300]

1974 Republic of Korea

Mun Segwang, a suspected North Korean agent, attempted to assassinate President Park Chun Hee during a speech in August. All shots missed Park, but one killed Park's wife, Yuk Young Soo.[301]

1975 Saudi Arabia

Prince Faisal Ibn Musad Abdel Azia assassinated King Faisal of Saudi Arabia.[302]

1975-1994 South Africa, Angola

South African military and intelligence conducted operations against the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).[303]

1977 London, England

Bulgarian-born BBC commentator Georgi Markov was assassinated. Using a needle embedded in the tip of an umbrella, communist agents injected a pellet of ricin into Markov's leg, killing him a short time later. Also known as "The Umbrella Assassination."[304]

1979 Ireland

Lord Louis Mountbatten was assassinated at Mullaghmore, County Sligo; possible connections were to the Warrenpoint Ambush of 18 British paratroopers by the Provisional Irish Republican Army.

1979 Republic of Korea

Korean Central Intelligence Agency conspirators assassinated President Park Chung Hee.[305]

1979 Afghanistan

In September 1979, Hafizullah Amin seized power, killing fellow Khalq party leader and Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Nur Muhammad Taraki. Amid increasing instability and with his loyalty in question, the Soviet Union decided to move against Amin. Having gradually increased their presence since an April 1979 Afghan request for military intervention, Soviet airborne forces began landing in force on 25 December.

On 27 December, over 700 Soviet KGB, GRU (Russian Military Intelligence), and special forces dressed in Afghan Army uniforms seized key targets in Kabul as Soviet major ground forces elements crossed the northern frontier. A portion of the force stormed Tajbeg Palace, where Amin resided. Later a formal announcement revealed a tribunal from the Afghan Revolutionary Central Committee executed Amin. Babrak Karmal was installed as Prime Minister of the new government.

1981 Vatican City

Mehmet Ali Agca attempted to assassinate Pope John Paul II; allegations were that East German and Bulgarian intelligence planned and executed the operation.[306]

1981 Cairo, Egypt

Egyptian Islamic Jihad assassinated Egyptian President Muhammad Anwar al Sadat.

1983 Burma (Myanmar)

In October, a powerful bomb exploded several minutes before South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan was scheduled to lay a wreath at the Martyr's Mausoleum in Rangoon. The blast killed 17 senior South Korean officials and injured 14 accompanying President Chun. The explosion also killed four Burmese nationals and wounded 32 others. North Korean army Major Zin Mo and Captain Kang Min Chol confessed to the bombing. Kang provided details of his training in North Korea and of travel to Burma on a North Korean freighter and disclosed that after the arrival of his assassination team in Burma, the team stayed in the home of a North Korean embassy official. Canadian police had uncovered a plot to assassinate President Chun during his visit to that country the previous year.[307]

1985 Tunis, Tunisia; Israel

On 1 October, six Israeli F-15 aircraft bombed Borj-Cedria, called Hammam-Plage, situated in the southern suburbs of Tunis, after a 1,500-mile flight in Operation Wooden Leg. The action resulted in 68 civilian dead and nearly 100 wounded. Israel claimed that for the past year, the PLO headquarters in Tunisia had initiated, planned, organized, and launched hundreds of terrorism attacks against Israel, against Israeli targets outside Israel, and against Jews everywhere. More than 600 such attacks killed or severely wounded more than 75 Israelis, the PLO's designated targets. The "butchery" of three Israelis at Larnaca, Cyprus had allegedly been perpetrated by "Force 17," Yasser Arafat's personal bodyguard unit, which occupied the PLO headquarters in Tunisia. The headquarters were the target of Israel's strike, and its action was "a legitimate act of self-defence" in response to "terrorism." Any civilian casualties were the result of the "deliberate PLO tactic … of planting its bases among civilians." Tunisia was strong enough to stop the terrorists but it "knowingly harboured the PLO and allowed it complete freedom of action in planning, training, organizing, and launching murderous attacks from its soil." The Israeli government stated the action was directed against the "terrorist killers," not against their host country.[308]

1988 Gibraltar

In Operation Flavius, British SAS interdicted and killed three Irish Republican Army (IRA) members who had emplaced a car bomb on the island of Gibraltar as they moved toward the Spanish border. Controversy followed when an investigation indicated the three IRA members were unarmed.[309]

1994 Khartoum, Sudan

Illitch Ramirez Sanchez (a.k.a. Carlos the Jackal)—former Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) terrorist and mastermind of the infamous December 1975 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) hostage crisis in Vienna—was seized by his own bodyguards while recovering from a testicular operation in Khartoum, Sudan. The raid culminated nearly two decades of pursuit

by French and U.S. intelligence. On 14 August, the Jackal was handed over to agents from the French Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST). Tried for the murder of a French policeman and informant, he received a life sentence.[310]

1994-present Chechnya, Russia

Russia responded to Chechen separatist terror with manhunting efforts against Chechen leaders Dzhokar Dudayev (1996), Arbi Barayev (2001), Aslan Maskhadov (2005), Shamil Basayev (2006), Abdul-Khalim Sadulayev (2006), abu Hafs al Urdani (2006), and assassination of former Chechen president Zelimkhan Yandirbayev (2004).[311] Chechen insurgents executed Russian pilots and launch intimidation campaigns, selectively targeting pilots and their families to dissuade them from participating in combat operations.[312]

1994-present Rwanda

United Nations International Criminal Tribunal convened to prosecute suspected war crimes in Rwanda (ICTR).[313]

1995-present Former Yugoslavia

United Nations International Criminal Tribunal convened for war crimes committed in the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY).[314]

1997 Amman, Jordan and Israel

An October attempt to kill Khaled Meshal, the Jordanian-based political chief of Hamas, went awry. A struggle ensued. Two Mossad agents and Meshal's driver, Mohammed Abu Saif, were arrested. When Meshal fell ill, Jordanian police suspected he had been exposed to a toxic agent. An international debacle ensued. King Hussein nearly severed relations between Israel and Jordan. U.S. sponsored negotiations with the Palestinians faltered. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was forced to provide an antidote to save Meshal's life, and to release Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the founder and spiritual leader of Hamas, who had been in custody.[315] In the wake of an Israeli investigation, Danny Yatom, director of Mossad, resigned in 1998.[316]

2001-2003 Philippines

Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) pursued Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), and Jemah Islamiya (JI) terrorists.[317] On 21 May 2001 Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) terrorists led by Aldom Tilao (a.k.a. abu Sobaya) kidnapped 22 hostages, including American missionaries Martin and Gracia Burnham and California native Guillermo Sobero from the Dos Palmas resort on Palawan Island, taking them by boat to Basilan Island where they demanded ransom. MC-2, an elite Philippine Marine intelligence unit, tracked the ASG and hostages using an informant, Alvin Singlos. Philippine Army special forces competed

with Marines to pursue the terrorists and hostages, using heavy-handed tactics to apply pressure on ASG. To demonstrate his seriousness, Tilao beheaded American hostage Sobero not long after Sobero was wounded in a firefight. Increasing Army pressure forced ASG to flee with remaining hostages to the Zamboanga Peninsula. Given MC-2's success, the commander received CIA airborne surveillance and tracking assistance, locating and tracking the ASG terrorists and their captives near Zamboanga. Again, the Philippine Army intervened, claiming jurisdiction over the operation. In an overpowering raid after 376 days of captivity, they killed several ASG members along with hostages Martin Burnham and Ettabora Yap, a Philippina nurse, recovering Gracia Burnham who had been shot in the leg. Tilao escaped with several of his compatriots. MC-2 continued to track Tilao and his followers, killing them in Operation Black Archer, a daring at-sea attack supported by U.S. Navy SEALs on 20 June 2002.[318]

2002-present Sierra Leone

United Nations Special Court convened for Sierra Leone.[319]

2003-present Netherlands

The International Criminal Court received case files from The Hague.[320]

2003 Pakistan, Malaysia, Spain, France

Operation Aquarium, a successful British Revenue and Customs investigation conducted in cooperation with French authorities and spanning a dozen countries, uprooted the tentacles of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan's illicit nuclear materials purchasing network from Malaysia to Spain and France.[321]

2005 Pakistan

Pakistani forces arrested Abu Faraj al-Libbi near Peshawar in May.[322]

2005 Lebanon

Former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri was assassinated via a car bomb in Beirut. A United Nations probe followed.[323]

2006 Pakistan

An April air strike in northwest Waziristan killed Muhsin Musa Matwalli Atwah, an Egyptian indicted in the U.S. in connection with the 1998 embassy bombings in East Africa.[324]

On 30 October, an air strike on a madrasa (religious school) in Bajura, Northwest Frontier Province killed an estimated 80 persons in a raid by helicopter gunships and precision weapons against a suspected terrorist training camp.[325]

2007 Persian Gulf, Iran

Iranian Pasdaran Revolutionary Corps Navy forces captured and interred 15 crewmembers from the British Type 22 frigate HMS *Cornwall* for 2 weeks. Subsequent United Nations and United Kingdom efforts secured release of the crewmembers.[326]

2007 Indonesia

Jamaah Islamiya (JI) leader Zarkasih, military operations director abu Dujana, and six other JI leaders were arrested in a series of raids across central Indonesia in June. Zarkasih led JI at the time it claimed responsibility for the 2002 nightclub bombings in Bali that killed 202 people.[327]

2007 Tizi Ouzou, Algeria

Algerian security forces identified, located, and killed Rachid Sid Ali and Haroun el Achaachi, senior military advisor and deputy for the Al Qaeda organization in the Islamic Maghreb on 2 August.[328]

2007 Sri Lanka

S. P. Thamilselvan, head of the Tamil Tiger's political wing, died along with five others in a 2 November air strike by the Sri Lankan military. Sri Lankan Defense Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa remarked, "If we want we can take them one by one, so they must change their hideouts." [329]

2007 Pakistan

A gunman assassinated former Pakistani prime minister and presidential candidate Benazir Bhutto in Rawalpindi on 27 December. The gunman blew himself up, killing a further 20 people. Al Qaeda claimed responsibility for the assassination.

2007-2008 Iraq

British officials revealed that Special Air Service (SAS) forces operating in concert with U.S. counterparts of an elite Task Force Black "have taken 3,500 terrorists off the streets of Baghdad in 18 months." The SAS captured the majority of the terrorists, but killed several hundred who were mainly members of Al Qaeda in Iraq. Six SAS personnel were killed and over 30 injured in the operations, while U.S. elite forces suffered a 20 percent casualty rate. The operations targeted terrorist cells behind bombings that took over 3,000 lives. Using intelligence gleaned from spies and informers, Task Force Black reduced bombings from 150 per month to only two.[330] General David Petraeus, U.S. commander in Iraq, said the SAS "… have helped immensely in the Baghdad area, in particular, to take down the Al Qaeda car bomb networks and other Al Qaeda operations in Iraq's capital city, so they have done a phenomenal job in that regard." [331]

2007-present Turkey, Northern Iraq

In response to growing tensions between Turkey, Iraq, and the international community, the United States provided Turkey with "actionable intelligence"—including information that could be used to target with lethal force—on militant elements of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) operating in Northern Iraq.[332] By 25 December, Turkish military leaders claimed air strikes killed over 150 PKK insurgents and struck over 200 targets.[333] On 4 February 2008, A statement posted on the Turkish Army's Web site said about 70 targets in Avashin, Basyan, and Hakurk were hit in air strikes that began at 3 a.m. and lasted 12 hours. The Turkish military said the targets were identified as "belonging to the PKK terrorist organization by intelligence sources" and the attacks were conducted in a manner designed to avoid civilian casualties. Several similar attacks in January caused no casualties.[334] Turkey began a ground assault by 3,000 troops on 21 February, which the government claimed killed 33 PKK fighters and a key PKK leader by 23 February, with the loss of 8 Turkish soldiers and a Cobra helicopter gunship.[335]

2008 Philippines

Police and military operatives captured suspected ASG terrorist Aramil Sulayman. Sulayman was tagged as one of 128 armed men who took part in the killing and beheading of 10 Marines who were ambushed on 10 July 2007 as part of the military contingent searching for kidnapped Italian priest Giancarlo Bossi. A combined police and military intelligence operation captured Sulayman on 12 January after a tip by an informant. The capture of Sulayman formed part of OPlan Shoppers, designed to neutralize wanted armed groups with links to the ASG.[336]

2008 Israel, Palestine

Israeli troops killed PIJ commander Walid Obeidi during an exchange of fire in the West Bank village of Qabatiya, near the northern town of Jenin on 16 January. The Israeli army said its troops had attempted to arrest Mr. Obeidi, described as the head of the armed wing of the radical movement in the West Bank. An air strike missed a group of militants, killing three civilians in the Gaza Strip on the same day. The raids came on the heels of the previous day's IDF incursion into Gaza that killed 18 people, in response to rocket attacks launched from Palestinian territories against Israel.[337]

2008 Syria

Imad Mughnieh, who headed Hezbollah's special operations unit, died in a car bomb in Damascus on 12 February. Mughnieh, in his late 40s, was wanted for his suspected role in a string of attacks against American and Israeli targets, including the 1992 bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires that killed 29 people and the abduction of Western hostages in Lebanon in the 1980s. He was also linked to the bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks at Beirut airport in 1983, in which 241 American servicemen died and the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in 1985, in which

a U.S. Navy diver was killed. Danny Yatom, former head of the Israeli Mossad, said he did not know who had "liquidated Imad Mughnieh, but it was considered a success for the intelligence community. He was one of the biggest terrorists in the world, in the same league with Osama bin Laden."[338]

2008 Colombia

Colombian commandos killed Raul Reyes, a senior FARC secretariat leader with 16 other rebels on 2 March. Reyes was killed in an air raid followed by a ground operation, Defence Minister Juan Manuel Santos said. The rebels had camped 1 mile on the Ecuador side of the border across from the province of Putumayo when the attack was called in.[339] A diplomatic rift ensued between Colombia and Ecuador, in which Ecuador suspended diplomatic relations, while Colombia accused Ecuador's government of avoiding confrontation with the FARC guerillas. In a military crackdown dubbed operation Sovereignty IV, Ecuador's defense ministry announced that it destroyed 15 Colombian rebel bases and two cocaine-processing laboratories near the Opuno and Putumayo rivers in the Amazon province of Sucumbios along its northern border.[340]

2008 Israel, Gaza Strip

Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) revealed on 14 April that an air strike by an UAV killed Ibrahim abu Alba; Palestinian sources confirmed his death. A member of the military wing of the Palestinian Democratic Front responsible for operations in northern Gaza, the IDF said Alba was responsible for rocket attacks and a recent infiltration into Israel that had injured three soldiers. The IDF stated Alba was planning another attack when he was killed near Beit Hanoun.[341]

On 16 April, another airstrike killed Mohammed Ghausain, Islamic Jihad's commander in northern Gaza.[342]

On 30 April, Israeli Air Force (IAF) aircraft attacked a building in Southern Gaza where rockets and weapons were being produced, causing secondary explosions. One Palestinian was killed, reportedly a key leader in Islamic Jihad's engineering and weapons production unit, and five others wounded.[343]

2008 Afghanistan

A well-coordinated attempt to assassinate Afghan President Hamid Karzai on 28 April failed. Afghan intelligence had known of a plan. Authorities arrested a mortar team and three suicide bombers days before the attack, but failed to track down the three gunmen who opened fire Sunday from a hotel room a few hundred yards from where the VIPs were sitting.[344] Follow-on investigations confirmed the attack had inside help; a police captain was connected with the group behind the attempt, while an army officer supplied weapons and ammunition for the attack. Intelligence chief Amrullah Saleh blamed Al Qaeda for the attack, claiming three of the plotters had contacts with people outside Afghanistan, noting the Pakistani town of Miram Shah, the main Taliban and Al Qaeda base in north Waziristan.[345]

On 30 April, Afghan security forces raided a Kabul hideout, killing militants with suspected links to the attack. Two militants—a woman and a child—were among those killed, and one of the dead militants had supplied weapons used in the attack on Karzai, Saleh said. Three intelligence agents also died, Saleh said.[346]

2008 Israel, Gaza Strip

On 1 May, an Israeli Air Force missile destroyed a car in the Rafah refugee camp, killing Nafez Mansour and wounding another Hamas militant. Mansour had been involved in the 2006 abduction of IDF soldier Gilad Shalit.[347]

2008 Philippines

Philippine military forces conducted a 1 May raid on Jolo island. ASG leader Isnilon Hapilon was wounded in the hand, fleeing into the jungle. Hapilon's son Tabari, an ASG guerilla, was killed in the raid. The offensive led to a clash in Candinamon and the capture of a sprawling ASG camp in the remote town, where they were said to be training and assembling bombs with members of the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), the Al Qaeda's Southeast Asian arm. The rebels incurred heavy casualties, the military said, without giving an actual body count.[348]

2008 Spain, France

Spanish and French police arrested the leader of the Basque separatist group ETA, along with five other people, amid a recently renewed campaign of bombings blamed for killing more than 825 people since the late 1960s. Francisco Javier Lopez Pena, Ainhoa Ozaeta Mendiondo, Igor Suberbiola, and Jon Salaberria were detained in the southwestern French city of Bordeaux on 20 May. Two more suspects were arrested 21 May:

- Jose Antonio Barandiaran, arrested in Spain, was former mayor of a Basque town.
- A French citizen arrested in Bordeaux was linked to the apartment and was not immediately identified. An unnamed French police official said four handguns, false identity papers, computers, and material that could be used for making explosives —including sodium chlorate and time-bomb equipment—were seized in the apartment.[349]

2008 Iraq

More than 30,000 Iraqi troops and police conducted Operation Glad Tidings, a crackdown focused on the city of Baqouba in Diyala Province. Police arrested more than 600 suspected Al Qaeda in Iraq members. A major public affairs campaign accompanied the military operations, intended to demonstrate to residents of Diyala Province that the Iraqi government had wrested control back from insurgents and foreign fighters.[350]

2008 Pakistan

Abu Saeed al-Masri, an Egyptian-born member of Al Qaeda's senior leadership, was rumored to have been killed during fighting with Pakistani security forces in the Bajaur tribal area along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border.[351] Abu Saeed al-Masri was identified in Palkistani media reports as Mustafa Abu al-Yazid, Al Qaeda's commander in Afghanistan. Yazid claimed responsibility for the bombing of the Danish embassy in Islamabad in early 2008 and was linked to the assassination of former prime minister Benazir Bhutto in December 2007. Al-Masri was believed to have been a chief financial manager for Al Qaeda.[352]

2009 Gaza Strip

Israel conducted air strikes targeting Hamas in the Gaza Strip after militants repeatedly fired rockets into Israel. On 1 January, Nizar Rayyan, a Hamas leader who urged suicide attacks against Israel, was killed in an air strike on his home in the northern Gaza Strip. Rayyan was the most senior Hamas leader to be killed since the death of Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi in April 2004. Rayyan bragged, "we will kill the enemy and take hostages," during a 31 December 2008 interview on Hamas' al-Aqsa television channel. The strike killed at least four other people in the Jabaliya refugee camp, including some members of his family.[353]

Appendix C. Chronology of American Personnel Recovery Operations

1776 Boonsboro, Kentucky

Frontiersman Daniel Boone set off with a group of men on 7 July to pursue a Shawnee raiding party who kidnapped his daughter and two friends. Their 3-day chase of the Shawnee braves and the subsequent rescue of Jemima Boone, Betsy Callaway, and Fanny Callaway inspired James Fennimore Cooper to write *The Last of the Mohicans*.[354]

1801-1805 North Africa, Mediterranean Sea

The First Barbary War occurred. Since 1784, the United States Congress allocated funds to appease the Barbary Pirates by paying tribute. Upon his election, President Thomas Jefferson refused to continue the practice. Tripoli, Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis declared war on the United States. Congress authorized the President to seize all vessels and goods of the Pasha of Tripoli, "… and also to cause to be done all such other acts of precaution or hostility as the state of war will justify." In October 1803, The Pasha of Tripoli held USS *Philadelphia* and her 300-man crew hostage after the frigate ran aground on the Barbary Coast. In one of America's first "special operations," Lt Stephen Decatur and 84 volunteers entered Tripoli Harbor in a captured Tripolitanian ketch renamed *Intrepid*, and destroyed *Philadelphia* in February 1804. U.S. Marines led a daring 600-mile march, taking Derna in April to May 1805. The capture of Derna led to a negotiated end to the war. The Pasha of Tripoli freed all U.S. hostages in exchange for $60,000 ransom.[355]

1904 Morocco

Mulay Ahmad el Raisuli and a band of Berber tribesmen abducted American expatriate Ion Perdicaris and his stepson from their home in Tangiers in May. President Theodore Roosevelt dispatched the Atlantic Fleet to Morocco, where seven battleships demonstrated Roosevelt's *big stick* policy. The administration engaged the British and French governments to pressure the weakened Sultan into resolving the issue. The Sultan agreed to facilitate Perdicaris' release on 21 June. Roosevelt continued to milk the affair for political gain. Despite the Sultan's agreement to negotiate Perdicaris' freedom, Secretary Hay dispatched a telegram to Morocco, demanding the Sultan return "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." The telegram was made public at the 1904 Republican convention. Popular response to "The Perdicaris Affair" ensured Roosevelt's reelection and directly led to the Algeciras Conference, where Europe's Great Powers reached agreement on colonial interests in Africa.[356]

1942-1945 Western Europe

A broad underground network was established to find and repatriate downed airmen. More than 5,000 airmen were located and evacuated safely back to allied territory by this network. By 1944, any downed airman who survived to reach the ground in France had a 50 percent chance of being discovered by this network and safely returned to fight again.[357]

1942-1945 Pacific

In the Pacific, air-sea rescue aircraft and submarines performed personnel recovery operations, sometimes in cooperation with *Coast Watchers*, local personnel familiar with an area who infiltrated behind Japanese lines to observe the enemy.[358] A coast watcher was instrumental in the rescue of future President John F. Kennedy.[359] Air Corps, Navy, and Coast Guard rescue forces conducted broad search patterns across endless tracts of ocean to detect those whose aircraft or ships were not able to get home.[360]

1945 Cabanatuan, Republic of the Philippines

On 28 January, 6th Ranger Battalion, led by Alamo Scouts, stormed the Prisoner of War camp at Cabanatuan, nearly 30 miles behind enemy lines. Only two Rangers were killed and 7 injured, while two others died and 21 guerillas wounded. The assault force killed over 500 Japanese troops, who fanatically charged guerilla and Ranger roadblock positions. The Rangers began a long march back to American lines with a column of 512 frail prisoners of war, the weakest borne on carts by local Philippine citizens. Arriving on 31 January, the mission was a resounding success and a major public affairs coup. Alamo Scouts were deemed crucial to the mission's success.[361]

1945 British Colonial Malaysia (currently Indonesian territory)

On 10 April 1945, Allied Intelligence Bureau (AIB)—a joint U.S., Australian, British, and Dutch special operations headquarters—received information that the Sultan of Ternate and his family were in danger of being executed by the Japanese forces in Malaysia. Former ruler of the Dutch East Indies colony, thousands of Malays recognized the Sultan as their leader. The AIB launched Operation Opossum to rescue the Sultan's family before the Japanese could take them.

On 11 April, AIB and Netherlands East Indies Intelligence Service agents aboard PT-178 and PT-364 travel from Morotai to Hiri island, 1 mile north of Ternate. Leaving the landing party on Hiri, the PT boats returned to Morotai. A native guide crossed to Ternate in a canoe, bearing a message from the Opossum landing team concealed in his mouth. At the same time, the landing party silently detained 60 men from a nearby village suspected of being sympathetic to the Japanese forces.

The native guide returned the next afternoon, with a message from the Sultan. Fearing spies and traitors in his midst, the Sultan planned to cross to Hiri under cover of darkness that night. The Sultan arrived as planned, but announced Japanese forces

would attack Hiri in the coming hours. The Opossums' PT boats were not expected until the next morning. Luckily, heavy seas delayed the Japanese attack.

In the early morning, Opossum men caught sight of Japanese soldiers crossing the waters in swift Malaysian outriggers. The landing party opened fire with two machine guns, delaying the assault force while the landing team radioed for help. As the team's ammunition ran low, a flight of Australian Beaufighter attack aircraft arrived overhead. The PT boats evacuated the rescue team and the Sultan's party at noon. Later debriefed in Australia, the Sultan provided a wealth of intelligence on Japanese shipping and dispositions.[362]

1964-1965 Republic of the Congo

American air and ground forces supported Belgian airborne forces during Operations Dragon Noir and Dragon Rouge, the rescue of 2000 European citizens during the Simba uprising.[363]

1965-1975 North Vietnam, Thailand, Republic of Vietnam, Cambodia

Military services revitalized their capability to recover downed aviators. Dedicated Combat Search and Rescue (CSAR) forces—"Jolly Green Giant" helicopters escorted by A-1 Skyraider, and HC-130 refueling aircraft—were consolidated under Aerospace Rescue and Recovery Service (ARRS) in 1964. ARRS CSAR Task Forces saved 4,120 personnel—2,780 of those in combat—and were recognized with two Medals of Honor, 39 Air Force Crosses, and numerous other combat action medals.[364] Despite valiant efforts, one Air Force search and rescue crewman and two aircraft were lost for every 9.2 recoveries in Vietnam, while the Navy lost a crewman for every 1.8 recoveries. Only 9 percent of targeted Navy personnel were recovered.[365]

1970 North Vietnam; Thailand; United States

In April, intelligence analysts became convinced that American prisoners of war (POWs) at Son Tay, approximately 23 miles west of Hanoi, were in dire need of rescue.[366] For several months, special operations leaders sought approval from the Nixon administration to conduct a modest raid to rescue those POWs who were sick. The mission objective expanded during the approval process to include all POWs held at Son Tay. A bold, large-scale rescue mission was executed on 20 November with near perfection, resulting in only 2 wounded from a force of 56 raiders. Unfortunately, as intelligence discovered from a human source during that time, the POWs were relocated in July to another camp in Hanoi due to monsoon flooding. The task force reported by radio that no POWs were found in the camp. The Son Tay raid was not without positive impact—North Vietnam improved its treatment of POWs in the aftermath of the operation.[367]

1975 Kompong Som and Kaoh Tang, Cambodia

The merchant ship S.S. *Mayaguez* was seized in May by Khmer Rouge forces and interred near Kaoh Tang, an island off the Cambodian coast. A rescue operation was planned and executed within 3 days of the *Mayaguez*' capture. A Navy

destroyer, USS *Harold E. Holt*, drew alongside Mayaguez, and a force of volunteers and merchant seamen boarded the merchant ship and took her under tow. Carrier aircraft from the USS *Coral Sea* struck military targets in the Kompong Som area, while Marines made a helicopter assault on Kaoh Tang. One of the critical pieces of information—the location of the Mayaguez crew—eluded intelligence and planners. While the Khmer Rouge surrendered the Mayaguez crew to the destroyer USS *Wilson*, 18 U.S. servicemen were killed on Kaoh Tang, while more than 50 were wounded.[368]

1978-1979 Teheran, Iran

Iranian officials summoned two senior Electronic Data Systems (EDS) employees, Paul Chiapparone and Bill Gaylord, for questioning in December. Accusing the pair of making illegitimate claims, the two EDS men were arrested after a daylong interrogation and imprisoned for 6 weeks. EDS chief executive officer, H. Ross Perot, hired retired Green Beret colonel Arthur "Bull" Simons—leader of the Son Tay ground force—to make a rescue attempt. Perot personally infiltrated Iran, disguised as a cameraman for NBC, to deliver messages to his two employees. Together with volunteers from among EDS' executives, Simons inserted a team into Tehran. The team staged a jailbreak in January 1979, which resulted in the release of the two EDS captives along with 11,000 other Iranian prisoners. Following the breakout, the team and its two escapees successfully left Iran via the Turkish border.[369]

1979-1980 Iran; Oman; Egypt; United States

On 4 November 1979, Iranian "students" stormed the American Embassy in Teheran, Iran, taking 53 occupants hostage. Several hostages were subsequently released. Other embassy personnel escaped with the assistance of the Canadian Embassy. Teheran's government and Iranian Revolutionary Guards, in a breach of diplomatic protocol, backed the student occupation of the embassy. When 6 months of negotiations failed to resolve the issue, the United States executed Operation Eagle Claw. In the initial insertion on 24 April 1980, Marine RH-53D helicopters flown from USS *Nimitz* became disoriented and delayed by a dust storm over the Iranian desert or were damaged while landing at the Desert One refueling site. Malfunctions caused three of eight helicopters to become unairworthy, driving a decision to abort the mission because six helicopters were required to ferry the ground force to the forward staging base. While refueling to return to the *Nimitz*, one of the Marine helicopters hit an EC-130 tanker, erupting into a fireball. Three Marine helicopter crewmen and five Air Force flight crew from the tanker were killed, but the remaining tanker crew and 64 Special Forces soldiers in the aircraft managed to escape.[370] President Carter assumed full responsibility for the failed attempt. SOF planned and rehearsed a follow-on mission under the code names *Honey Badger* and *Credible Sport* that was never executed.[371] The failed mission resulted in a series of investigations, ultimately leading to the 1987 Nunn-Cohen Amendment of the Goldwater-Nichols DoD Reorganization Act of 1986, which established the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations

and Low-Intensity Conflict, and United States Special Operations Command.[372] Iran held the American hostages until January 1980.

1981-1982 Italy

The Red Brigade kidnapped Brigadier General James Dozier, deputy chief of staff for Land Forces at NATO headquarters in Verona, Italy in December. A 42-day manhunt to find and fix the kidnappers paid off in January, when specially trained Italian police raided a five-room apartment in Padua, where they rescued General Dozier. Five Red Brigade terrorists surrendered without a shot being fired.[373]

1983 Grenada

Concerned over escalating violence and communist involvement on the island of Grenada, the Reagan Administration launched Operation Urgent Fury. Several personnel recovery and protection operations were carried out during the intervention, including the U.S. Army Rangers and the 82nd Airborne Division rescue of over 1,000 American citizens, primarily located at St. George's Medical School True Blue Campus (25 October) and Grand Anse Campus (28 October). A 22-man SEAL team rescued Governor General Scoon and his family at their residence from 25 to 26 October, fighting off Grenadan attacks for over a day until relieved by a Marine company. A Special Forces attack on the Richmond Hill Prison failed 25 October when two of the lead helicopters were hit by antiaircraft fire. The U.S. suffered 19 dead—12 soldiers, 3 Marines and 4 SEALs. Grenadan forces lost 45 killed and 350 wounded, while Cuban "construction forces" suffered 25 dead and 59 wounded.[374]

1989-1990 Panama

On 21 December, American forces seized key objectives and neutralized the Panamanian Defense Forces in Operation Just Cause. Kurt Muse, a 39-year-old American businessman arrested in early April as he returned from a business trip, was held in Panama City's central prison, La Carcel Modelo. In a spectacular jailbreak 13 minutes prior to "H-Hour," Task Force Garcia—a handpicked special operations assault team—landed on the prison roof in helicopters, breached the cell block, overpowered the guard force, and opened the door to Muse's cell with an explosive charge. Following the team onto the roof, Muse climbed into the back seat of an MH-6 "Little Bird" helicopter as the assault team perched on boards mounted along the skids. Small-arms fire damaged the helicopter as they departed. The pilot managed a controlled crash landing not far away. Ground forces reached Muse and his rescuers the next morning.[375]

1995-1999 The Balkans

During Operation Deny Flight, Marines from the amphibious assault carrier USS *Kearsarge* rescued Captain Scott O'Grady in June 1995. O'Grady successfully evaded Serbian forces for 6 days after his F-16 was shot down by Serbian forces.[376] American CSAR forces also attempted to rescue the crew of EBRO-33, a French

Mirage-2000B aircraft downed over Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, but discovered the French airmen were captured shortly after being shot down. French President Mitterand personally negotiated the crew's release. During Operation Allied Force in 1999, Special Operations CSAR teams plucked an F-117 pilot from the area around Belgrade, Serbia on 27 March. On 2 May, special operations CSAR helicopters extracted an F-16 pilot downed over western Serbia.[377] The successful rescue of downed aviators was a psychological victory over Serbian forces and prevented downed airmen being exploited as hostages—a tactic the Serbs employed repeatedly during the Balkan civil war.

2003 Iraq

American SOF rescued 19-year old Private First Class Jessica Lynch from an Iraqi hospital 1 April, where she was held to treat her wounds. Lynch had been captured during a 23 March Iraqi attack, when her Army supply convoy strayed into an ambush.[378]

2007 Middle East

In January, the Air Force Chief of Staff announced that CSAR saved over 470 members of the joint and coalition team in the Central Command area of responsibility since 11 September 2001.[379]

2007 Horn of Africa, Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean

CTF 150 once more acted against increasing piracy. On 28 October, USS *Arleigh Burke* entered Somali territorial waters at the invitation of the transitional government. Radio contact was made with several pirate crews to convince them to surrender captured vessels. The destroyer USS *James E. Williams* provided care and assistance to crewmembers and pirates aboard the North Korean cargo vessel *Dai Hong Dan*, after the crew regained control of the ship from the pirates on 30 October.[380] On 4 November, Somali pirates released three captive vessels, the Tanzanian registered *Mavuno I* and *Mavuno II* and later released the Taiwan-registered *Ching Fong Hwa 168* after 5 months in captivity.[381] USS *Porter* fired on and sank two pirate boats tied to the hijacked Japanese tanker *Golden Nori*, but did not employ force against the ship due to its volatile benzene cargo.[382] By 6 December, U.S. and German warships surrounded the tanker near the Somali port of Bossaso, where local authorities called on pirates to surrender the vessel.[383] They surrendered the tanker and its crew on 12 December.[384]

2008 Colombia

Colombian forces planned Operation Check, an elaborate ruse to convince FARC captors to willingly release their most prized hostages. Working diligently since January, Colombian staff officers took advantage of a crumbling FARC communications system. The idea resulted from a message found in a computer captured during a March 2008 raid on FARC headquarters in Colombia. The message, from Jorge Briceño, discussed how guerillas had misplaced a baby boy who was to have been

liberated in a hostage release, but lost track of the boy. Colombia's Vice Minister of Defense Sergio Jaramillo commented that Briceño "does not even know what happens in his own house." Planting a false message, Colombian military deceived Gerardo Antonio Aguilar Ramirez, the head of the unit guarding the hostages. On 2 July 2008, posing as members of a sympathetic nongovernment organization, a Colombian commando team, replete with Che Guevara t-shirts, landed their Russian built helicopters, painted in the colors of a Venezuelan relief organization, near the FARC compound. Two commandos, acting as a film crew, interviewed the rebel commander, while a handful of others portrayed relief workers. Handcuffing the hostages, the commandos took custody of 15 hostages—including former Colombian Presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt, three American hostages, and uniformed Colombian security personnel—without firing a shot. The freed hostages were flown to an ecstatic reception in Bogota as their former captor was overcome and handcuffed naked on the floor of the helicopter. Colombian Defense Minister Juan Manuel Santos led a triumphant press conference, praising the operation as "inventive and bold."[385] U.S. forces provided assistance preparing for the operation.[386]

Endnotes

1. Author's proposed definition of manhunting.
2. Know also that Appendix A has some glaring omissions, primarily fugitive manhunts conducted by the law enforcement community and armed militias. From deputized posses in the old West to modern local, regional, national, and international law enforcement agencies, many criminals and fugitives have been interdicted. Some of these were a threat to national security if allowed to continue their sociopathic behavior. For example, the U.S. Marshals service has achieved an impressive tally of apprehensions, over 600 of which were overseas in 2006. (See www.usmarshals.gov/investigations/international/index.html; accessed July 2009.)

   In no way should this omission be taken to imply that law enforcement manhunts are less worthy of study than military manhunts—quite the contrary. Law enforcement has much to teach the national security establishment in pursuing fugitives. It might be argued that law enforcement dragnets are even more demanding, as the rules of evidence and oversight placed on peace officers are comparatively more restrictive than military rules of engagement.

   Other manhunting stories will take years to be told. For example, the Central Intelligence Agency's Counterterrorism Center (CTC) has directed intelligence activities—quite often involving surrogate forces or allied intelligence services—that led to the detention or death of several thousand terrorists and sympathizers. See "CIA & The War on Terrorism," Central Intelligence Agency Office of Public Affairs, Langley, 2007, www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/index.html; accessed July 2009. While accurate estimates of terrorists captured or detained are difficult to obtain due to U.S. government secrecy and natural desire to avoid the Vietnam debacle of estimating a "body count," an unofficial "Terrorist Scumbag Scorecard" is available at www.angelfire.com/ultra/terroristscorecard/; accessed July 2009.
3. Classical sources of Alexander the Great's life include Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, Arian's Anabasis, Quintus Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander the Great of Macedonia*, and Diodorus' *Library of World History*. The most important ancient sources on Hannibal are Livy's books 21-39 and books 3-16 of the *World History* by Polybius.
4. Steven M. Marks, Thomas M. Meer, and Matthew T. Nilson, *Manhunting: A Methodology for Finding Persons of National Interest* (Monterey, CA: U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, June 2005), pp. 5-18. Thesis advisors were Dr. Gordon McCormick and Dr. Anna Simons. See also:
   a. David Scott-Donelan, Tactical Tracking Operations: The Essential Guide for Military and Police Trackers (Boulder, CO: Paladin Press, 1998).
   b. Bob Carss, The SAS Guide to Tracking (Guilford, CT: The Lyons Press, 1999), revised 2009.
5. Marks, Meer, and Nilson, *Manhunting: A Methodology*, p. 78.

6. Donelan, Tactical Tracking Operations, pp. 61-74.
7. United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) acquisition personnel chant a mantra to remember this rule: "We don't man the equipment; we equip the man." – USSOCOM Center for Acquisition and Logistics (SOAL) unofficial motto.
8. See the America's Most Wanted site, www.amw.com/; accessed July 2009.
9. T-shirts have been distributed in Washington, D.C. with the admonition "Don't Snitch," meaning do not inform law enforcement about criminal activity. Radical inner city organizations openly promote confronting or even killing law enforcement officials. This monograph does not delve further into this issue because its focus is on combating individuals and networks overseas.
10. The Whack-a-Mole analogy was used by Lieutenant Colonel Jim Blackwood in 2004 to describe *time-sensitive targeting* operations being planned by military leaders. The concept centered on reacting to intelligence indicating a terrorist was in a given location. The time-consuming reaction exercises tended to be ponderous.

    The Whack-a-Mole analogy was also used by the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Richard B. Myers to describe the counterterrorism targeting process. See Tyler Harbert, "General address Bush, terrorism in speech," *The University Daily Kansan* (Lawrence, KS: The University of Kansas), 3 May 2007, www.kansan.com/stories/2007/may/03/myers/; accessed July 2009. Myers was quoted to say: "How many of you have been to Chuck-e-Cheez? You know that Whack-a-Mole thing?" Myers went on to argue that the primary thrust of counterterrorism should be to influence foreign audiences to reject terrorism.
11. The Department of Defense uses the acronym DIME (diplomatic, information, military, economic) to describe the four elements of national power. See Joint Publication 1, Doctrine of the Armed Forces of the United States, 14 May 2007, pp. I-8. The acronym DIMEFIL is found in literature to expand on the idea. See the National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism (NMSP-WOT), 6 February 2006, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, D.C., p. 6:

    > Success in this war will rely heavily on the close cooperation among U.S. Government agencies and partner nations to integrate all instruments of U.S. and partner national power— diplomatic, information, military, economic, financial, intelligence, and law enforcement (DIMEFIL). The clandestine nature of terrorist organizations, their support by some populations and governments, and the trend toward decentralized control and integration into diverse communities worldwide complicate the employment of military power.
12. The record on nonlethal action is spotty at best. Economic sanctions were unsuccessful in dissuading the Saddam Hussein regime from illegitimate action. Rather, corrupt officials conspired to circumvent the sanctions in an illegal pyramid scheme. Sanctions have not been effective against Burma (Myanmar), nor did diplomatic isolation prevent India, Pakistan, Israel, or South Africa from developing

nuclear weapons. Yet it could be argued that sanctions drove North Korea to the bargaining table. Sustained sanctions and isolation convinced Libya to renounce weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programs and rejoin the international community. It remains to be seen if Iran will be brought back into the fold of cooperative nation states.

13. Kate Doyle and Peter Kornbluh, *The Guatemala 1954 Documents*, National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 4, George Washington University, www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB4/; accessed July 2009. CIA declassified some 1,400 pages on the Guatemalan destabilization program, known as PBFORTUNE and PBSUCCESS.

14. *Fact Sheet: Fighting Genocide in Darfur, President Bush announces increase sanctions against the Government of Sudan*, The White House, Washington, D.C., 29 May 2007, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/05/print/20070529-2.html; accessed July 2009. The quote of interest, obtained from this 2007 fact sheet, follows:

    > The U.S. is targeting sanctions against individuals responsible for violence. These sanctions will isolate these persons by cutting them off from the U.S. financial system, barring them from doing business with any American citizen or company, and calling the world's attention to their crimes.

15. Juan Forero, "Colombian Officials Recount Rescue Plan—Commandos Took Acting Classes to Prepare," *The Washignton Post*, 6 July 2008, p. 12, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/07/05/AR2008070501684.html; accessed July 2009.

16. Several recent examples of this phenomenon can be found in the articles below. Incidents of fratricide and collateral damage in employing conventional capabilities for manhunting are nearly as frequent as the successes against HVTs.

    a. Carlotta Gall, "British Criticize Air Attacks in Afghan Region," *The New York Times*, 9 August 2007, www.nytimes.com/2007/08/09/world/asia/09casualties.html?partner=rssnyt&emc=rss; accessed July 2009.

    b. Scott Pelley, "Karzai: Stop the Air Strikes—Afghan President Tells 60 Minutes That Too Many Civilians Are Being Killed," *60 Minutes*, 28 October 2007 and updated 28 August 2008, www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/10/25/60minutes/main3411230.shtml; accessed July 2009.

    c. Josh White, "U.S. Boosts Its Use of Air Strikes In Iraq—Strategy Supports Troop Increase," *The Washington Post*, 17 January 2008, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/01/16/AR2008011604148_pf.html; accessed July 2009.

    d. Alexandra Zavis, "U.S. Error Killed Guards, Iraq Police Say: Three are reported killed in an airstrike on a neighborhood checkpoint. The military hasn't confirmed it," *Los Angeles Times*, 16 February 2008.

    e. Tina Susman and Cesar Ahmed, "Iraqi Guards Leave Posts Near Baghdad: Members of the Sons of Iraq security corps stage a walkout to protest U.S.

airstrakes they say have killed 12 civilians this month," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 February 2008.

f. Robert Farley, "Abolish the Air Force," *The American Prospect*, 1 November 2007, www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=abolish_the_air_force; accessed July 2009.

17. The military often uses the term *geolocate* to indicate that the goal is to detect and share the precise geographic coordinates where the individual terrorist is located at a given time. To put this simply, we want "a dot on a map." This knowledge allows the military or law enforcement to take decisive action.

18. The interaction of the HVT with others is the basis of a national-level security threat. Only through a network can activities that are inimical to the interests of the nation reach a level that threatens national security. An individual who does not interact with a network is a local threat, usually handled effectively by local law enforcement elements. The primary exception to this would be a "lone wolf" seeking to acquire or employ WMD.

19. My original definition included the ability to detect, seize, destroy, or influence critical technology. The inclusion of critical technology generated much discussion and disagreement. Disagreement centered on whether to consider manhunting in a purist sense, only focused on finding human targets. In the interest of consensus, I withdrew the technological aspect from the definition of manhunting.

    Human networks lie at the center of all activities—including the development, deployment, or employment of critical technology. Examples of this technology include WMD, devices that could generate technological surprise, and technology that might lead U.S. to high-value individuals. The threat from possible proliferation or use of WMD justifies including the ability to detect WMD as a key element of a manhunting capability. Understanding the human networks involved could lead friendly forces to the technological threat. Similarly, a deep understanding and ability to track key technology may lead U.S. to detect nefarious human activities. There are well-documented cases where technical exploitation served as a basis for finding a HVT—as in the cases of Isoroku Yamamoto, Dzhokar Dudayev, Pablo Escobar, Aldom Tilao, and disruption of the A. Q. Khan network. The tactics, techniques, and procedures used in manhunting are similar to those employed in the seizure of critical technology. These issues are inextricably intertwined. For these reasons, historical raids to seize critical technology are worthy of study to develop manhunting capabilities, thus are included in the appendices.

    For those who say technology cannot be influenced, I disagree. *Influence* is the capacity or power to produce effects on others by intangible or indirect means (*Random House College Dictionary* definition). A sympathetic detonation is the result of physical influence on an explosive device. Meaconing, jamming, intrusion, or other techniques can influence the output or reliability of a technical device. Phone calls can be rerouted. Electronic bank accounts can be transferred or emptied. Geographic coordinates can be altered. Since these techniques involve neither the destruction nor seizure of technology, it falls into the category of

influence. While not the central element of manhunting deliberations, technology does bear on the manhunting problem, thus worthy of study.

20. Marks, Meer, and Nilson, *Manhunting: A Methodology*, pp. xvii and 99. It is also possible to infer from the thesis question on page 2—"How do military planners and intelligence analysts search, locate, and capture fugitives who operate within networks that offer support, cover, and security"—that the definition of manhunting might be "how military planners and intelligence analysts search, locate, and capture fugitives who operate within networks that offer support, cover, and security."
21. Ibid., p. 6. "The U.S. military's limited experience conducting manhunts has created a doctrinal, legal, and procedural void. No established set of systems or procedures has been formalized to specifically address manhunting within the confines of military operations. Consequently, the U.S. military approaches manhunting according to established processes created for conventional battle—find, fix, and destroy. Yet the very nature of finding individuals differs considerably from finding a unit on the battlefield. Identifying and locating an individual requires significantly different analytical methods and processes." Special thanks to these officers for allowing me to review their thesis in support of a staff study conducted for USSOCOM during the spring and summer of 2005.
22. Ibid. Marks, Meer, and Nilson consulted experts in the Department of Defense, intelligence, law enforcement, and international organizations. They visited not only key law enforcement and counterterrorist organizations around the world but also hosted a conference, bringing together international experts to discuss the craft of manhunting and identify what the group believed were the core tenets of manhunting. Their study concluded that significant differences exist between operations conducted to locate and apprehend individuals who are known and recognized as fugitives and those whose identities and associations are unknown. All fugitives seek to avoid detection and apprehension. Rather than employ technology to find persons of national interest, the thesis concludes the most effective way to find them is to employ investigative techniques.
23. In 2007, the United States Marine Corps initiated a training program called *Combat Hunter*. Initiated at Camp Pendleton and now being rolled out nationwide, Combat Hunter is designed to help Marines stalk and kill insurgents by using their senses and instincts. With an instructor staff including law enforcement and big game hunters, Combat Hunter emphasizes keen observation of Marines' surroundings and meticulous knowledge of their foes' habits prior to initiating contact. See Rick Rodgers, "Teaching Marines to be like hunters—Unorthodox war training emphasizes 'primal skills,'" San Diego *Union-Tribune*, 29 February 2008, www.signonsandiego.com/news/military/20080229-9999-1n29hunter.html; accessed July 2009.
24. Marks, Meer, and Nilson, *Manhunting: A Methodology*, pp. 13-26.
25. Ibid., p. 32.
26. Ibid., p. 2, 36.

Fugitives also follow certain behavior trends. Those evading the authorities tend to seek the sanctuary of family or friends, rural areas with cultural familiarity and fewer authorities, or densely populated areas where they can harness the "chaff" effect of many other people to drop below the awareness level of pursuers. Their flight tends to vary among planned, sudden opportunistic or passion-driven strategies. Terrorists evade authorities through multiple techniques, which include masking, disengagement, and mobility (pp. 32-33). The most successful fugitives also employ deception strategies to throw pursuers off of the scent (pp. 43-54).

27. Ibid., pp. 39-42.
28. The five steps of the analytic manhunting process (p. 60) are as follows:
    a. Conduct an initial background investigation via research.
    b. Build a social profile.
    c. Identify the support network.
    d. Analyze the hunter's constraints and limitations.
    e. Analyze competing hypotheses.

    The thesis also recommends an emerging investigative concept—Nexus Topography—as a means to conduct detailed social network analysis, predict future safe havens, and anticipate terrorist behavior or movement (pp. 63-73). A detailed explanation of Nexus Topography can be found in Steven Marks et al., *Nexus Topography: Mapping a Fugitive's Social Network* (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 2004).
29. Existing doctrine includes a hierarchy for combating terrorism (CbT) actions, including antiterrorism (AT) —defensive measures taken to reduce vulnerability to terrorist acts—and counterterrorism (CT) —offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, and respond to terrorism. AT views terrorism from a force protection perspective. Considered the domain of security and host-nation forces, AT is also considered every Department of Defense employee's responsibility. AT doctrine recently underwent its first update since 1998. Joint Publication (JP) 3-07.2, *Joint Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures for Antiterrorism*, was rewritten in 2006.

    Strangely, after 6 years of war, no overarching CbT or CT doctrine exists. From a doctrinal perspective, CT appears to be considered as a subset of *special operations* and *counterintelligence* doctrine. In other words, the CbT and CT mission appears to be subordinated to organizational considerations. JP 3-05, *Doctrine for Joint Special Operations*, 17 December 2003 could be seen to address CT as a subset of the following special operations capabilities:
    a. Direct action to "… seize, destroy, capture, exploit, recover, or damage designated targets."
    b. Special reconnaissance, armed reconnaissance "… involve locating and attacking targets of opportunity—for example, adversary materiel, personnel, and facilities…"
    c. Counterterrorism, which "… include offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, preempt, and respond to terrorism."

d. Counterproliferation (CP) of WMD, "… to locate, seize, destroy, render safe, capture, or recover WMD."

JP 2-01.2, *Joint Doctrine and Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures for Counterintelligence Support to Operations–Classified*, 7 May 2002 provided guidance on investigations, operations, and multinational operations. The classified document was revised and released in 2006 as JP 2-01.2, *Counterintelligence and Human Intelligence Support to Joint Operations*. JP 2-01.3, *Joint Intelligence Preparation of the Operational Environment*, 16 June 2009 includes concepts for performing analysis to determine appropriate targets.

JP 3-13, *Information Operations*, 13 February 2006 includes concepts of physical attack and nonlethal operations focused against key nodes within an enemy "system." Information Operations under command and control (C2) warfare seek to disintegrate key decision makers from the C2 network as well as disrupt or disable an enemy decision cycle.

Other joint doctrine addresses related areas, including TTP, for personnel recovery:

a. JP 3-50.2, Joint Doctrine for Combat Search and Rescue (CSAR), 26 January 1996.

b. JP 3-50.21, *Joint TTP for CSAR*, 23 March 1998.

c. JP 3-07.7, Joint TTP for Noncombatant Evacuation Operations, 30 September 1997.

Three other doctrine documents address respective coordination of interagency, multinational, and domestic operations:

a. JP 3-08, Interagency, Intergovernmental Organization, and Nongovernmental Organization Coordination During Joint Operations, Volumes I and II, 17 March 2006.

b. JP 3-16, Joint Doctrine for Multinational Operations, 5 April 2000.

c. JP 3-26, Homeland Security, 2 August 2005.

A new doctrine document, JP 3-63, *Detainee Operations*, was also released in 2006.

To reinforce an earlier point, it appears that doctrine is subordinate to organizational considerations. At the highest levels of the Department of Defense, maintaining current organizational structure appears to carry more weight in the development of doctrine. Doctrine should drive organization; otherwise, doctrine becomes dogma.

30. It is important to distinguish between learning lessons from activities and condoning them. For example, it is not necessary to condone assassination in order to extract operational lessons from the execution of either a failed or successful assassination plot.

31. Thom Shanker and Scott Shane, "Elite Troops Get Expanded Role on Intelligence," *The New York Times*, 6 March 2006, www.nytimes.com/2006/03/08/international/americas/08forces.html?_r=1&pagewanted=1&oref=slogin; accessed July 2009.

32. One such measure is the "Cheney Doctrine" or "One Percent Doctrine"—a policy that if a 1 percent chance exists that an enemy may attack the United States, we must respond as if it is a certainty. See Ron Suskind, *The One Percent Doctrine: Deep Inside America's Pursuit of its Enemies Since 9/11* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006). Pulitzer Prize winner Suskind hits upon the crux of the issue on p. 149:

> It is odd, first, for a significant portion of a massive government with an annual budget of $2 trillion, to be committed to searching for a handful of men. We've done it a few times before, as when Woodrow Wilson sent the U.S. Army after Pancho Villa and his ragtag band. But the circumstances of this era, following 9/11, may mean *we'll have to do it on a regular basis*. Destructive weapons, obtainable by individuals, will do that. They make a small, ardent group of people as threatening as an invading army. [Emphasis added by monograph author.]

The gap between policy and capability has been thrust into public light in the controversy over the Uniting and Strengthening America (USA) by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (PATRIOT) Act—extraordinary rendition and interrogation of detained terrorists and issues related to telecommunications monitoring popularly referred to as *illegal wiretapping*. The potential threat posed by the combination of radical actors armed with WMD makes imperative a calculated response. Policy must catch up with capability; our nation must focus the development effort.

History may also imply that the United States is probably the world's best candidate to develop this capability and to employ it responsibly. Since the U.S. developed nuclear weapons during a time of war, it practiced exemplary restraint in the employment of this decisive capability. Nuclear capability underpinned the world's security for over 60 years. U.S. public officials and officers swear oaths not to a particular leader or party but to the Constitution. Citizens are held accountable not only to legal and policy organs but to their conscience. There is no nation in the world better suited to weigh and bring into balance the contrasting importance of democratic ideals and individual liberty against the need to protect civilization from those who would employ lethal force against innocents in the pursuit of an extreme agenda.

33. For an excellent synopsis of the issues associated with targeting regime leaders, refer to the following article by a former CIA assistant general counsel: Catherine Lotrionte, "When to Target Leaders," *The Washington Quarterly*, 26:3, Summer 2003, pp. 73-86, www.twq.com/03summer/docs/03summer_lotrionte.pdf; accessed July 2009.

    See also Nils Melzer, *Targeted Killing in International Law* (Oxford University Press, 2008). Melzer is a legal adviser to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

34. In the United States, the Fourth Amendment protects citizens from unreasonable search and seizure. Arrest falls into this category. Though standards vary from

state to state, the *Model Penal Code* dictates that decisions to employ deadly force must be the reasonable choice under all circumstances at the time of a search and seizure. Deadly force can be employed if the officer believes it is necessary to prevent escape, the officer has probable cause to believe the suspect poses a significant threat of death or serious injury to the officer or others. Refer to:

a. The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States
b. *Klinkel v. Saddler*, 211 Iowa 368, 233 N.W. 538 (1930)
c. *Tennessee v. Garner*, 471 U.S. 1, 105 S. Ct. 1694, 85 L. Ed. 2d 1 (1985)
d. *People v. Couch*, 436 Mich. 414, 461 N.W. 2d 683 (1990)
e. *Scott v. Harris*, No. 05-1631, U.S. Supreme Court (30 April 2007)
f. *Adams v. St. Lucie County Sheriff's Department*, 998 F.2d 923 (11th Cir. 1993)
g. *Harris v. Coweta County*, 406 F.3d 1307 (11th Cir. 2005)
h. *Donovan v. City of Milwaukee*, 17 F.3d 944 (7th Cir. 1994).

International law enforcement officers have also been instructed to employ lethal force. The modern concept of deadly force in law enforcement dates from Thomas Hobbes, who wrote in *The Leviathan*, "… covenants, without the sword, are but words and of no strength to secure a man at all." The concept of a State's monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force (proposed by Max Weber in *Politics as a Vocation*) has been predominant in 20th Century philosophy of law and political philosophy. Great Britain's Antiterrorism Branch (SO13) instituted Operation Kratos 6 months after the 11 September 2001 attacks, providing guidance to its officers on how to confront terrorism suspects. The policy, which remains secret, is believed to have provided instructions to incapacitate suicide bombers with shots to the head. (See "Police May Receive Shoot-to-Kill Orders," *The Scotsman*, 15 July 2005 and "Met adopted secret shoot-to-kill policy in the face of a new and deadly threat," *Financial Times*, 25 July 2005.) The Australian Antiterrorism Act of 2005 proposed police officers be granted this power when a suspect might pose a threat to others in the future.

35. Appendices A and B provide many examples of *in extremis* actions taken against terrorists.

36. Cindy Vallar, "Piracy and the Law: Modern Piracy - part 2," Pirates and Privateers, September 2000, www.suite101.com/article.cfm/pirates/44213/1; accessed July 2009. See also:

    a. Paul Reynolds, "Rules frustrate anti-piracy efforts," *BBC News/Africa*, 9 December 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/africa/7735144.stm; accessed July 2009.
    b. Matthew Hennessey, "Somali Pirates Scuttle Sea Laws," *Policy Innovations*, Carnegie Council, 18 November 2008, www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/briefings/data/000090; accessed July 2009.

37. Article One of The Constitution of the United States, Section 8: Enumerated Powers of Congress. "To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water …"

38. The United States is not a signatory to the Declaration of Paris. However, the United States issued statements during the Civil War and Spanish-American War that the U.S. would abide by the principles of the Declaration of Paris for the duration of the hostilities. On 11 October 2001, Washington D.C. congressman Ron Paul attempted to renew this concept, with the introduction of the September 11 Marque and Reprisal Act of 2001, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/sept_11.asp; accessed July 2009.

    Congressman Paul continues to seek approval of this initiative, most recently with the 27 July 2007 introduction of the Marque and Reprisal Act of 2007. The bill (H.R. 3216) was referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; see www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=h110-3216; accessed July 2009.

39. *United States v. Verdugo-Urquidez*, 494 U.S. 259 (1990) determined that U.S. agents are not bound by the Fourth Amendment when searching property owned by a nonresident alien in a foreign country. The case resulted in multiple opinions with two Justices dissenting. See http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?navby=CASE&court=US&vol=494&page=259; accessed July 2009.

40. In *Tennessee v. Garner*, 471 U.S. 1 (1985), the Supreme Court ruled that the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibits the use of deadly force to effect an arrest or prevent the escape of a suspect unless the police officer reasonably believes that the suspect committed or attempted to commit crimes involving the infliction or threatened infliction of serious physical injury and a warning of the intent to use deadly physical force was given, whenever feasible.

41. Richard Grimmet, *Authorization for Use of Military Force in Response to the 9/11 Attacks (P.L. 107-40): Legislative History*, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 4 January 2006, www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RS22357.pdf; accessed July 2009.

    Congress, conscious that passage of the 1964 Tonkin Gulf Resolution—H.J. Res 1143: *Joint Resolution to Provide the Maintenance of Peace and Security in Southeast Asia*, 88th Congress of the United States of America, 1 August 1964, www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=98; accessed July 2009—led to the unwanted expansion of the Vietnam conflict, omitted White House draft language that would have also authorized the President "to deter and preempt any future acts of terrorism or aggression against the United States," including a codicil that "Nothing in this resolution supercedes any requirement of the War Powers Resolution." President Bush believed the resolution "… recognized the authority of the President under the Constitution to take action to deter and prevent acts of terrorism against the United States … In signing this resolution, I maintain the long-standing position of the executive branch regarding the President's constitutional authority to use force, including the Armed Forces of the United States and regarding the constitutionality of the War Powers Resolution." – "Statement of the President of 18 September 2001 on signing the Authorization for the Use

of Military Force," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, George W. Bush (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2003), pp. 1124-1125; taken from Grimmet.

42. Ibid.

43. In HCJ 760/02, *The Public Committee against Torture in Israel v. The Government of Israel*, Israel's Supreme Court issued a decision on 14 December 2006 (see www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Politics/sctterror.html; accessed August 2009). The court found that:
    a. A continuous state of armed conflict of an international character exists between Israel and terrorist organizations active in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip; therefore, international law applies to the situation.
    b. Members of terrorist organizations are civilians because they do not fulfill the conditions for combatants under international law. Because terrorists take part in armed hostilities, they are not afforded the protections granted to a civilian under international law during the time that they are actively engaged in armed conflict or preparing for subsequent operations—including rest and recuperation.
    c. Four criteria must be adhered to when conducting targeted killing:
    d. Well-based, strong, and convincing information is needed to categorize a civilian as a terrorist.
    e. A civilian taking part in hostilities cannot be attacked if less harmful means can be employed. While the civilian does not surrender his human rights, arrest, investigation, and trial cannot always be employed at times when the risk is too great to soldiers.
    f. A thorough, independent investigation should follow any attack against a civilian suspected of taking part in hostilities, regarding the precision of target identification and the circumstances of the attack upon him. Compensation should be paid as a result of harm to innocent civilians in appropriate cases.
    g. Every effort must be made to minimize harm to innocent civilians. Harm to civilians must be proportional to the military advantage achieved by the attack.

44. Peter Hofschroder, *1815 – The Waterloo Campaign: Wellington, His German Allies, and the Battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras* (London: Greenhill Books, 1998), pp. 33-36. Although the the Hundred Days Campaign was about conventional military operations, their declared and intended purpose was to eject one man—Napoleon—from France.

45. Kendall D. Gott, *In Search of an Elusive Enemy: The Victorio Campaign, Global War on Terrorism Occasional Paper 5* (Fort Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2004), pp. 15-50, http://cgsc.leavenworth.army.mil/carl/download/csipubs/gott.pdf; accessed July 2009.

46. In *Graham v. Connor*, 490 U.S. 396, 397 (1989), the Court said (p. 490):

> … the test of reasonableness under the Fourth Amendment is not capable of precise definition or mechanical application.
>
> The reasonableness of a particular use of force must be viewed from the perspective of a reasonable officer at the scene, rather than with 20/20 vision of hindsight.
>
> … allowance [must be made] for the fact that police officers are often forced to make split-second judgments—in circumstances that are tense, uncertain, and rapidly evolving—about the amount of force that is necessary in a particular situation.

The question is whether the officers' actions are *objectively reasonable* in light of the facts and circumstances confronting them.

47. HCJ 760/02: *The Public Committee against Torture in Israel v. The Government of Israel*. In Sections 56-58, The Israeli Supreme Court also acknowledges and states its intent not to intrude into the operational decision cycle. However, the Court reserved the right to rule on the character of decisions for preemptive strikes.

> … The scope of judicial review of the decision of the military commander to perform a preventative strike causing the deaths of terrorists in the area, and at times of innocent civilians, varies according to the essence of the concrete question raised. On the one end of the spectrum stands the question which we have discussed in this petition, regarding the content of international law dealing with armed conflicts. That is a question of determination of the applicable law, par excellence. According to our legal outlook, that question is within the realm of the judicial branch …
>
> On the other end of the spectrum of possibilities is the decision, made on the basis of the knowledge of the military profession, to perform a preventative act which causes the deaths of terrorists in the area. That decision is the responsibility of the executive branch. It has the professional-security expertise to make that decision. The Court will ask itself if a reasonable military commander could have made the decision that was made. The question is whether the decision of the military commander falls within the zone of reasonable activity on the part of the military commander. If the answer is yes, the Court will not exchange the military commander's security discretion with the security discretion of the Court …"
>
> Between these two ends of the spectrum, there are intermediate situations. Each of them requires a meticulous examination of the character of the decision. To the extent that it has a legal aspect, it approaches the one end of the spectrum. To the extent that it has a professional military aspect, it approaches the other end of the spectrum. Take, for example, the question whether the decision to perform a preventative strike causing the deaths of terrorists fulfills the conditions which customary international law determines on that point (as determined

in §51(3) of *The First Protocol*). What is the scope of judicial review of the military commander's decision that these conditions are fulfilled in the specific case? Our answer is that the question of the fulfillment of the conditions determined in customary international law for performing military operations is a legal question, the expertise in which is the Court's.

48. Policymakers have used phrases like the *war on drugs* or *global war on terrorism*, while the response to Somali piracy has been to seek United Nations, shipowner, and Somali approval to employ military force. On the other hand, leaders repeatedly call for terrorists, pirates, and narcotraffickers to be brought to justice. Shipowners have legitimate concerns to safeguard the crew, the ship, and cargo.

49. See the Crimes of War Project article, "September 11th and its Aftermath: An Ongoing Special Feature," www.crimesofwar.org/expert/attack-main.html; accessed July 2009. It contains opinions of noted legal experts on the legal issues surrounding the 9/11 attacks.

50. HCJ 760/02: The Public Committee against Torture in Israel v. The Government of Israel:

> The Supreme Court decided that members of the terrorist organizations are not combatants. They do not fulfill the conditions for combatants under international law. Thus, for example, they do not comply with the international laws of war. Therefore, members of terrorist organizations have the status of civilians. However, the protection accorded by international law to civilians does not apply at the time during which civilians take direct part in hostilities. This too is a fundamental principle of customary international law. It is expressed in Article 51(3) of the 1977 Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions which states as follows: 'Civilians shall enjoy the protection afforded by this section, unless and for such time as they take a direct part in hostilities.'
>
> Thus, a civilian—in order to enjoy the protections afforded to him by international law during an armed conflict—must refrain from taking a direct part in the hostilities. A civilian who violates this principle and takes direct part in hostilities does not lose his status as a civilian; however, as long as he is taking a direct part in hostilities, he does not enjoy the protections granted to a civilian. He is subject to the risks of attack like those to which a combatant is subject, without enjoying the rights of a combatant—e.g. those granted to a prisoner of war …
>
> A civilian taking a direct part in hostilities is not an outlaw (in the original sense of that word—people deprived of legal rights and protection for the commission of a crime). He does not relinquish his human rights. He must not be harmed more than necessary for the needs of security. Among the military means, one must choose the means which least infringes upon the humans rights of the harmed person. Thus if a terrorist taking a direct part in hostilities can be arrested, interrogated, and tried, those are the means which should be employed. Arrest,

> investigation, and trial are not means which can always be used. At times the possibility does not exist whatsoever; at times it involves a risk so great to the lives of the soldiers, that it is not required...

51. Franklin Eric Wester, "Preemption and Just War: Considering the Case of Iraq," *Parameters* (Winter 2004-2005), pp. 26-29. Focusing on the six criteria of *jus ad bellum*, Chaplain Wester, a military ethicist, points out that "Preemptive strikes and preemptive war have a recognized historic and narrowly defined place in the Just War tradition." The six criteria are as follows:
    a. *Legitimate authority*. Different countries assign different legitimate authorities for declaring war. In the United States, though the Constitution specifies Congress as the agent to declare war, the unresolved tension between the President wielding the War Powers Act and the control of appropriations by the Congress has functioned sufficiently to legitimize war by U.S. forces. In cases of international forces, recognized organizations and institutions have formal procedures for legitimizing military power.
    b. *Public declaration*. National leaders, leaders of international organizations, and institutions are called on to announce intentions to pursue war and to provide the conditions for avoiding or ending conflict.
    c. *Just intent*. A general rule for just intent, or just cause in going to war, is to restore the status quo ante bellum, a return to international relations when war was not pursued. Other facets of just intent are to protect the innocent, recover something wrongly taken, punish evil, or defend against wrongful attack.
    d. *Proportionality*. This criterion focuses on restraint and precision in the use of force. Warfare presents notorious difficulty in predicting its costs—both human and economic—yet the application of military force is legitimate only to the degree it takes account of such effects and outcomes.
    e. *Last resort*. This criterion presents a logical conundrum. In theory, something else can always be done. The point of this specification is to clarify that force is justified only as a sad necessity after other good-faith ways to avoid or resolve conflict have failed.
    f. *Reasonable hope of success*. Leaders make a morally grave decision to commit the lives of their military forces, and those of innocent civilians, to death for the hope of reversing the cause of going to war. Only conflict with some expectation of restoration to an acceptable status quo is usually ethical. Revenge and "suicide stands" are not moral choices in cases where there is no hope of success.

    Wester differentiates between a preemptive strike and preventive war.

> … Preemptive strikes may be actions in war or discrete acts that one nation takes against another apart from war. Ethically, a preemptive strike in war is evaluated in the category of *jus in bello* and is a way to seize the initiative. A preemptive strike may be preceded by warnings and is not necessarily a sneak attack…

> In comparison, a preemptive war is associated with one aspect of the just cause standard of going to war (*jus ad bellum*). If attack is imminent, with a clear and present danger, a nation is right to defend itself… Also, the act of proceeding to war before actual attack is moral when the threat is real and so near at hand that launching war could be considered self-defense. A nation or nations also may rightly intercede to prevent humanitarian abuses, even inside the boundaries of another sovereign nation.
>
> In contrast, a preventive war is started well before the imminent threat or humanitarian crisis, when the balance of forces is the primary consideration. As noted above, a preemptive war is launched at a time close to a documented or presumed threat, when the forces initiating war retain tactical, operational, or strategic advantage. Preventive war, on the other hand, is built on a sheer calculation of advantage—nation X can gain an advantage by acting now to attack nation Y, regardless of the threat. By launching a war now, a later conflict—more costly in human life, national resources, or even lost victory—is avoided. The justification for such a war must withstand the critique of a just intent standard.

Wester also recommends the following sources for more information on just war theory:

a. U.S. Department of the Army, *The Law of Land Warfare*, Field Manual 27-10 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 18 July 1956 with Change 1, 15 July 1976), ch. 2, sec. 1, para. 20.

b. U.S. Army, "Apply Just War Tradition to Your Service as a Leader and the Profession of Arms," Training Support Package (TSP) 158-C-1131, Center for Army Leadership, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, http://web.archive.org/web/20010914070243/www.vanderbilt.edu/Army/TSP/justwar.htm; accessed August 2009.

52. Same as endnote 50.

53. HCJ 760/02: *The Public Committee against Torture in Israel v. The Government of Israel*. The Israeli Supreme Court ruled that "[a terrorist] must not be harmed more than necessary for the needs of security." Thus, security trumps individual human rights. It follows that as long as the terrorist presents a threat to security, his individual human rights—though considered—are of secondary concern. The author realizes, however, that this is a slippery slope—that is, one that could lead to acceptance of inhumane treatment, including torture. The author does not advocate torture or mistreatment of detainees. Inhumane treatment is not only counterproductive to intelligence gathering but also affects those who commit the act as well as victims. Identifying, tracking, influencing, capturing, or when necessary killing a terrorist prevents loss of innocent life. It is an act that may impinge on the human rights of a suspected terrorist, but supports and secures the human rights of the terrorist's potential victims.

54. The Church Committee cast the term *plausible denial* into the public eye:

> Nonattribution to the United States for covert operations was the original and principal purpose of the so-called doctrine of plausible denial. Evidence before the committee clearly demonstrates that this concept, designed to protect the United States and its operatives from the consequences of disclosures, has been expanded to mask decisions of the President and his senior staff members.

Source: *United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*, 20 November 1975, II, Section B, Covert Action as a Vehicle for Foreign Policy Implementation, p. 11.

55. *Executive Order: Strengthened Management of the Intelligence Community*, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 27 August 2004, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/08/print/20040827-6.html; accessed July 2009.

56. *President Signs Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act*, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 17 December 2004, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/12/print/20041217-1.html; accessed July 2009.

57. The Posse Comitatus Act is contained in Title 18, United States Code, Section 1385:

> Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, willfully uses any part of the Army or the Air Force as a posse comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both.

Posse comitatus is derived from English common law; the term translates to *force of the county* and referred to a sheriff's authority to assemble a body of men above the age of 15 to repress a riot or for other purposes. Congress passed the Posse Comitatus Act in 1878 in response to a dispute over the use of federal troops by federal marshals in the South. Marshals and sheriffs often pressed Army troops into their service without the approval of the commander in chief; the increasing frequency of this practice irked many members of Congress, especially when the law enforcement authorities also insisted Congress should foot the bill for these operations. Southerners in particular questioned this policy. In passing the act, the Congress restricted the U.S. marshals' and local sheriffs' ability to conscript military personnel into their posses. The intent of the act was not to preclude the Army from enforcing the law but instead designed to allow the Army to proceed only when directed by the President or Congress.

The Posse Comitatus Act applies only to the Army and Air Force; it is Pentagon policy to interpret the decision to affect the Navy and Marine Corps in the same way. Likewise, the Army or Air Force can be used when directed by the President or Congress. Recent experience demonstrates that it is not only possible but also sometimes necessary to employ the military for domestic purposes. Leaders often state that the military cannot assist in homeland security, counterterrorism, civil disturbances, and similar domestic duties. They are misinformed.

Source: John R. Brinkerhoff, "The Posse Comitatus Act and Homeland Security," *Homeland Security Journal*, Homeland Security Institute, February 2002, www.homelandsecurity.org/journal/Articles/brinkerhoffpossecomitatus.htm; accessed July 2009.)

58. The 1992 Los Angeles riots that erupted after the Rodney King verdict were only quelled when National Guard and federal forces were brought to bear. Their intervention was far from unpopular, as the California National Guard commander recalled:

> There was much applause and other visible signs of support, to include thumbs up and waving. Guardsmen had trouble spending money in local stores, even those that had been looted, as shopkeepers and eating places refused to take money from them. Literally thousands of pizzas and other meals, soft drinks, and cookies were delivered to Guardsmen by restaurants and individual citizens. Cards and letters of thanks from school children were delivered to various staging areas.

Source: James D. Delk, *The 1992 Los Angeles Riots: Military Operations in Los Angeles, 1992*, The California Military Museum, California State Military Department (Etc Publications, 1994), www.militarymuseum.org/HistoryKingMilOps.html; accessed July 2009.

When local, state, and civil resources in the Gulf States were overwhelmed by the magnitude of the 2005 Hurricane Katrina natural disaster, the Department of Defense had to reestablish order in New Orleans, conduct search and rescue operations, and perform many of the initial engineering efforts to recover damaged infrastructure, including levee repair and reestablishing operations at key transportation nodes. Source: Joseph Chenelly, "Troops begin combat operations in New Orleans," *Army Times*, 2 September 2005.

Likewise, the Department of Defense is a key participant in National Security Special Events, in which federal, state, and local forces collaborate under U.S. Secret Service leadership to ensure public security and safety at the Olympic Games, the Super Bowl, the World Economic Forum, Presidential Inaugurations, special congressional assemblies, or other major public events. Source: *National Security Special Events*, www.secretservice.gov/nsse.shtml; accessed July 2009.

In May 1998, President Clinton issued Presidential Decision Directive (PDD)-62. A portion of this classified document deals with the coordination of Federal antiterrorism and counterterrorism assets for events of national interest. PDD-62 formalized and delineated the roles and responsibilities of federal agencies in the development of security plans for major events. When an event is designated a National Special Security Event, the Secret Service assumes its mandated role as the lead agency for the design and implementation of an operational security plan. Cooperating federal, state, and local agencies provide a safe and secure environment for key personnel, other dignitaries, event participants, and the general public.

Add to this a litany of cases where the military has provided disaster relief or border security, and domestic employment of military forces takes on a much more popular aspect than is often feared.

59. "Title 32 – National Guard," *U.S. Code Collection*, Cornell University Law School, www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/html/uscode32/usc_sup_01_32.html; accessed July 2009.

60. The USA PATRIOT Act stands at the center of this continuum. (For introduction of the acronym, see endnote 32.) For suspected terrorism cases, the Act permits government authorities—without proof that a crime has been committed—to access personal information like medical, financial and educational histories, and library records; track an individual's Internet communications; install telephone and computer wiretaps; and obtain search warrants for voice-mail and e-mail messages. It has been proposed that these powers be expanded to allow officials to bypass a judge or grand jury in order to obtain subpoenas in time-sensitive terrorism investigations, deny bail to terrorism suspects, and open up the federal death penalty for terror-related crimes that result in death. Both supporters and critics of the law are involved in a tug of war over what liberties Americans should sacrifice in exchange for public safety. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a renowned civil rights advocacy organization, views the Act as a "surveillance monster." The ACLU argued that virtually no rules existed for the new powers. Another complaint from civil liberties groups is that the law is increasingly being used against criminals who are not terrorists. Source: Sheryl Silverman, "Patriot Act Continues to Spark Debate," *Online News Hour Extra*, MacNeil-Lehrer Productions, 17 September 2003.

    Similar controversy has erupted over *Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Terrorists* (Public Law 107-40, 115 Stat. 224, enacted 18 September 2001), the Protect America Act of 2007 amending the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (enacted 5 August 2007 and expired 17 February 2008), interrogating suspects, and trying suspects through military tribunals.

61. Fact Sheet: President Issues New Orders to Reform Intelligence: Actions Aimed at Terrorism Prevention, Safeguarding Civil Liberties, and Further Implementing 9/11 Commission Recommendations, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/08/print/20040827-13.html; accessed July 2009.

62. The following sources provide examples of tension between the executive and legislative branches over counterterrorism-related policy and law:

    a. *President Signs Intelligence Authorization Act*, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 28 December 2001, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011228-3.html; accessed July 2009. President Bush stated, "… The Act authorizes appropriations to fund United States intelligence activities, including activities essential to success in the war against global terrorism. Regrettably, one provision of the Act falls short of the standards of comity and flexibility that should govern the relationship between the

executive and legislative branches on sensitive intelligence matters and, in some circumstances, would fall short of constitutional standards."

b. *Fact Sheet: Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction*, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 28 December 2001, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/02/20040206-13.html; accessed July 2009. President Bush charged a bipartisan commission to conduct a thorough review of the way the United States collects, analyzes, and disseminates intelligence information related to WMD.

c. Fact Sheet: President Issues New Orders to Reform Intelligence: Actions Aimed at Terrorism Prevention, Safeguarding Civil Liberties, and Further Implementing 9/11 Commission Recommendations.

d. *President's Statement on the Intelligence Authorization Act, 2005*, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 23 December 2004, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/12/print/20041223-6.html; accessed July 2009.

e. Charles Babington and Walter Pincus, "Intelligence Overhaul Bill Blocked: House Conservatives Deal Blow to President, Speaker in Rejecting Compromise," *The Washington Post*, 21 November 2004, p. A01, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A381-2004Nov20.html; accessed July 2009.

f. Esther Pan, "Intelligence: Intelligence Reform," Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., 31 March 2005, www.cfr.org/publication.html?id=7820#3; accessed July 2009.

g. Robert Byrd, "Politics Surround Intelligence Reform: Hasty Action Leaves Too Many Gaps and Problems," 8 December 2004, www.cwalocal4250.org/politicalaction/binarydata/Politics.pdf; accessed July 2009.

h. Helen Fessenden, "The Limits of Intelligence Reform," *Foreign Affairs*, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., November/December 2005, www.foreignaffairs.org/20051101faessay84610/helen-fessenden/the-limits-of-intelligence-reform.html; accessed July 2009.

i. Richard Betts, "The New Politics of Intelligence: Will Reforms Work This Time?" *Foreign Affairs*, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., May/June 2004, www.foreignaffairs.org/20040501facomment83301/richard-k-betts/the-new-politics-of-intelligence-will-reforms-work-this-time.html; accessed July 2009.

63. Michael Scheuer, "The Path to 9/11," *The Washington Times*, 24 August 2007.

64. Marks, Meer, and Nilson, *Manhunting: A Methodology*, p. 74. These authors point to one enlightening example of the contrasting results achieved between small teams and large organizations:

> In his Master's thesis, 'The Israeli Response to the 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre,' Alexander B. Calahan compares two Israeli operations, the attempted assassination of Ali Hassan Salameh by Mossad in Lillehammer and the use of the Avner team. The Lillehammer operation was

deemed a failure because it resulted in the exposure of seven Israeli officers and the death of two innocent civilians. The Avner team, in contrast, was more successful. During the 2-year deployment of the Avner team, eight of the eleven targets were killed, and the collateral damage included one KGB officer, four PLO security personnel, one freelance assassin, and two team members. What separated these two cases was that the Avner team operated outside the government's traditional organizational structure. This team had the freedom to develop the necessary intelligence and conduct the necessary operations beyond the confines of a large political bureaucracy. Due to too much compartmentalization, the Lillehammer incident was doomed from the start. Information that was vital for the mission success was rarely shared between individuals.

65. In the wake of the September 11th attacks, hearings by the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, also known as the 9/11 Commission, raised serious concerns about the handling of intelligence and counterterrorism investigations within the FBI. (Refer to National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States site, www.9-11commission.gov/; accessed July 2009.)

    President Bush directed the FBI and the attorney general to make their top priority preventing future terrorist attacks against the homeland. The FBI expanded the number of Joint Terrorism Task Forces across America from 35 to 66, enhancing communications with federal, state, and local agencies. The FBI created a National Joint Terrorism Task Force at FBI Headquarters, established new counterterrorism "Flying Squads" to deploy into the field at a moment's notice, and established a 24/7 Counterterrorism Watch Center.

    The 9/11 Commission also pointed out significant shortfalls in the FBI's intelligence capability. In response, the FBI established an intelligence program to ensure that the collection and dissemination of intelligence were given the same institutional priority as the collection of evidence for prosecution, dedicating Intelligence Reports officers to facilitate the vital flow of information and training new analysts for the Counterterrorism Division with curriculum developed in cooperation with the CIA. A new Executive Assistant Director for Intelligence was given direct authority and responsibility for the FBI's national intelligence program. The FBI also started establishing intelligence units in all of its field offices, implementing a new data management system to ensure that it would share terrorism-related information internally and with the CIA, the Department of Homeland Security, and other appropriate agencies. Source: *Fact Sheet: Strengthening Intelligence to Better Protect America*, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 14 February 2003, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030214-1.html; accessed July 2009.

    In 2005, the United States Marshals Service (USMS) arrested more than 35,500 federal fugitives, clearing 38,500 felony warrants—more federal fugitives than all other law enforcement agencies combined. That year USMS also led fugitive task forces—interagency teams of marshals working in concert with state and/

or local authorities—that arrested more than 44,000 state and local fugitives, clearing 51,200 state or local felony warrants. Since the inception of the USMS *15 Most Wanted Fugitive* program in 1983, 182 fugitives on the 15 Most Wanted list have been captured. Source: Facts and Figures, *U.S. Department of Justice, United States Marshals Service Fact Sheet*, USMS Pub No. 21-B, USMS Office of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 13 January 2006.

How does USMS achieve these impressive figures? This description of the organization explains:

a. The USMS Office of Emergency Management (OEM) is the primary point of contact when the Marshals Service is involved in sensitive and classified missions. OEM has primary responsibility over the agency's actions involving homeland security, national emergencies, and domestic crises. USMS also fields a Special Operations Group (SOG), a specially trained and highly disciplined tactical unit. A self-supporting response team capable of responding to emergencies anywhere in the United States or its territories, most of the deputy marshals who have volunteered to be SOG members serve as full-time deputies in Marshals Service district offices throughout the nation, and they remain on call 24 hours a day for SOG missions. SOG also maintains a small, full-time operational cadre stationed at the Marshals Service Tactical Operations Center at Camp Beauregard, Louisiana, where all SOG deputies meet rigorous physical and mental standards and must undergo extensive training in tactics and weaponry. SOG's missions include apprehending fugitives, protecting dignitaries, providing court security, transporting high profile and dangerous prisoners, providing witness security, and seizing assets.

b. USMS also includes a Technical Operations Group (TOG). The TOG Aviation Support Branch provides aerial surveillance, electronic tracking, and other aerial platform functions in support of USMS operations. USMS aircraft provide vital intelligence during the investigation, arrest, and prosecution of some of the country's most dangerous fugitives.

c. The Electronic Surveillance Branch (ESB) provides covert investigative and intelligence support for the Marshals Service's major cases and 15 Most Wanted fugitive investigations. In addition, ESB provides assistance when requested by other federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies to solve complex criminal investigations or violent crimes. ESB achieves a very successful case clearance rate by deploying some of the most sophisticated technologies available. ESB members help prepare court orders, serve as expert witnesses in the field of electronic surveillance, and train law enforcement personnel from the United States and the international law enforcement community in the use of electronic surveillance. ESB maintains a central monitoring facility and electronic surveillance operation centers, with field offices throughout the United States. Source: Operations Support, *U.S. Department of Justice, United States Marshals Service Fact Sheet*, USMS Pub No. 21-H; USMS Office of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 13 January 2006.

d. USMS also has a Criminal Information Branch (CIB), a team of analysts that provide tactical and strategic expertise for USMS operations. The CIB researches and analyzes information in support of fugitive investigations, and it manages data-sharing projects with other agencies. The CIB also oversees special information systems used by the Marshals Service, including the Warrant Information Network—the agency's central, law enforcement information system.

e. The Marshals Service is also responsible for tracking fugitives who flee the territorial boundaries of the United States, and the agency has also been designated by the Department of Justice to locate and apprehend fugitives wanted by foreign nations who are believed to be in the United States. The Marshals Service has the statutory responsibility to extradite international and foreign fugitives after they are captured. In fiscal year 2005, the Marshals Service successfully completed a record 653 extraditions or deportations from 63 different countries. Source: Fugitive Investigations; *U.S. Department of Justice, United States Marshals Service Fact Sheet*, USMS Pub No. 21-C, USMS Office of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 13 January 2006.

66. If manhunting assets were consolidated in a single agency, an interagency team would be rendered moot.

67. The disciplines include but are not limited to Counterintelligence; Human Intelligence (HUMINT) collectors and analysts; Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) collectors and analysts; and Measurement and Signatures (MASINT) collectors and analysts with expertise in biometrics, linguists with expertise in key languages, targeteers who have performed counterterrorist missions, Foreign Area Officers, Psychological Operations (PSYOP) personnel, Civil Affairs (CA) experts, and analysts who have experience evaluating demography—particularly ethnic, tribal, and religious issues. Key leaders, communications experts, experienced international and interagency liaisons, and operations personnel should also be considered.

68. Marks, Meer, and Nilson, *Manhunting: A Methodology*, p. 76.

    See also Alexander B. Calahan, Countering Terrorism: The Israeli Response to the 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre and the Development of Independent Covert Action Teams (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Command and Staff College, April 1995). Steven Spielberg directed the movie Munich (2005) about these operations, based on the book Vengeance by George Jonas. The movie Sword of Gideon (1986)—directed by Michael Anderson and starring Steven Bauer, Michael York, and Rod Steiger—also chronicles this tale.

69. Source is the MI5 site: www.mi5.gov.uk/output/how-we-operate.html; accessed August 2009.

70. Ray Bonds, Intelligence Warfare: Penetrating the Secret World of Today's Advanced Technology Conflict (London: Salamander Books, Ltd., 1987), pp. 48, 77-78.

71. See the *National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (9/11 Commission)*, "Intelligence Policy Staff Statement No. 7," p. 3, www.9-11commission.gov/staff_statements/staff_statement_7.pdf; accessed July 2009:

> In 1996, as an organizational experiment undertaken with seed money, the CTC [Counterterrorism Center] created a special 'Issue Station' devoted exclusively to Bin Ladin. Bin Ladin was then still in Sudan and was considered by the CIA to be a terrorist financier. The original name of the station was 'TFL,' for terrorist financial links. The Bin Ladin (UBL) Station was not a response to new intelligence, but reflected interest in and concern about Bin Ladin's connections.

The 9/11 Commission Report makes repeated references to UBL Station. Also see *The Office of the Inspector General (OIG) Report on CIA Accountability With Respect to the 9/11 Attacks*, June 2005, pp. xii, xv, and xx, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/cia_accountability_report_082107.pdf; accessed July 2009.

72. If manhunting capabilities were consolidated in a single agency, liaison requirements would be reduced.

73. A book by Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) professor Dr. Hy Rothstein calls for the creation of a separate U.S. military service for unconventional warfare. *Afghanistan and the Troubled Future of Unconventional Warfare*, published by Naval Institute Press, calls for the establishment of a new organization, based on the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), to combat terror. Source: Barbara Honegger, "New Book Calls for Separate Military Service for Unconventional Warfare," 16 May 2006. Ms. Honegger is a senior military affairs journalist for NPS. (See www.nps.edu/Images/Docs/InReview_2006-7_Low.pdf, p. 4; accessed July 2009.)

74. Dedicated manhunting elements of DCGS would be required. These elements should be trained, organized, and equipped for dedicated intelligence integration with deployed manhunting teams. If collaborative systems are to succeed in demanding manhunting missions, DCGS elements cannot afford to have their loyalty split between competing priorities and administratively separate chains of command. DCGS elements should be an integral part of the manhunting organization.

75. Performance reviews of these elements are mixed; they are torn between multiple chains of command and competing priorities levied by tactical, operational, strategic, and administrative overlords.

76. The Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) recommended the Army expand Psychological Operations and Civil Affairs units by 3,700 personnel (a 33 percent increase) to provide increased support for SOF and the Army's modular forces. (*QDR 2006*, p. 45.)

    The United States recently appointed an Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs to oversee U.S. government strategic communication efforts. The President's long-time friend Karen Hughes was appointed to the position. See www.state.gov/r/; accessed July 2009. This office is a step in the

right direction, but it remains to be seen whether or not it will have the influence necessary to redress the imbalance.

See also Gerry Gilmore, "Strategic Influence Office 'Closed Down,' Says Rumsfeld," *American Forces Press Service*, Washington, D.C., 26 February 2002, www.defenselink.mil/news/Feb2002/n02262002_200202263.html; accessed July 2009:

> The OSI [Office of Strategic Influence], under [Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, Douglas] Feith's purview, was created last November to aid U.S. efforts to influence countries overseas to help or at least support the war against global terrorism. The office has been under criticism since a *New York Times* report that the office would plant false press releases in foreign media outlets to manipulate public opinion.
>
> The media have asserted that such false stories—or disinformation—could eventually find their way into American news reports. Such a scenario, Rumsfeld has said in recent days, would be entirely contrary to DoD's policy on the dissemination of information to the public.

77 Based on author's review of Executive Orders issued since 9/11 and posted to the White House official Web site, roughly 35 percent of the orders signed by President Bush dealt with various aspects of counterterrorism. They addressed issues ranging in importance from restructuring the government by creating the Department of Homeland Defense and Strengthening the Intelligence Community, through blocking commerce with states sponsors of terrorism, to such mundane matters as approving DoD medals.

National Strategies include the following documents:

a. *National Security Strategy of the United States*, The White House,Washington, D.C., 16 March 2006.

b. *National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism*, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, D.C., 1 February 2006.

c. *National Military Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction*, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, D.C., 13 February 2006.

d. *National Intelligence Strategy*, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, Washington, D.C., 26 October 2005.

e. *The National Defense Strategy of the United States of America*, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C., 18 March 2005.

f. *The National Military Strategy of the United States of America: A Strategy for Today, A Vision for Tomorrow – 2004*, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, D.C., 18 March 2005.

g. *The National Counterintelligence Strategy of the United States*, National Counterintelligence Executive, Washington, D.C., 4-5 March 2005.

h. *National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction*, The White House, Washington, D.C., 11 December 2002.

i. *Action Plan For Creating a Secure and Smart Border*, The White House, Office of Homeland Security, Washington, D.C., 7 January 2002.

j. *National Strategy for Homeland Security*, The White House, Office of Homeland Security, Washington, D.C., 16 July 2002.

k. *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*, The White House, February 2003.

l. *United States Interagency Domestic Terrorism Concept of Operations Plan*, Departments of Defense, Energy, Health & Human Services and the Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, D.C., January 2001.

m. *The National Security Strategy of the United States*, The White House, Washington, D.C., 17 September 2002.

n. Biological and Chemical Terrorism: Strategic Plan for Preparedness and Response, Centers for Disease Control, 21 April 2000.

o. *Strategic Plan 2006-2008: Safeguarding the Financial System from the Abuse of Financial Crime*, Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, Washington, D.C., February 2005.

p. *Model City Emergency Operations Plan and Terrorism Annex*, WMD Incident Command Course, Center for Domestic Preparedness, Washington, D.C., June 2004.

78. Raymond Decker, GAO 03-165 – Combating Terrorism: Interagency Framework and Agency Programs to Address the Overseas Threat, U.S. Government Accountability Office, 23 May 2003, p. 6.

79. Ibid.

80. Donna Miles, "Special Operations to Increase in Size," 1 May 2005, http://usmilitary.about.com/od/jointservices/a/specopsincrease.htm; accessed July 2009.

81. *Fact Sheet: President Bush Receives Briefing from Military Commanders*, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 17 February 2006, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/20060217-2.html; accessed July 2009.

82. Signs of this bureaucratic tension can be gleaned from the following articles:

a. Thom Shanker, "The Struggle for Iraq: Security study is said to find overlap in U.S. counterterror effort," *The New York Times*, 18 March 2006, Section A, p. 8.

b. Thom Shanker and Scott Shane, "Elite Troops Get Expanded Role on Intelligence," *The New York Times*, 8 March 2006, www.nytimes.com/2006/03/08/international/americas/08forces.html?ex=1299474000&en=20fecad5a871e6b2&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss; accessed July 2009.

c. Jennifer Kibbe, "The Rise of the Shadow Warriors," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2004, www.foreignaffairs.org/20040301faessay83209/jennifer-d-kibbe/the-rise-of-the-shadow-warriors.html?mode=print; accessed July 2009.

83. Richard Lardner (Associated Press), "Commando leaders shift away from Rumsfeld policy,"10 May 2008, http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/politics/2004405115_apcommandowarplan.html; accessed July 2009.
84. Executive Order Establishing the Office of Homeland Security and the Homeland Security Council, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 8 October 2001, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/print/20011008-2.html; accessed July 2009.
85. H.R. 5005-8, *Homeland Security Act of 2002*, 107th Congress of the United States of America, http://epic.org/privacy/homeland/homeland_security_act.pdf; accessed July 2009. The agencies included:
    a. U.S. Customs Service, resubordinated from the Department of the Treasury (DoT)
    b. Portions of The Immigration and Naturalization Service, moved from the Department of Justice (DoJ)
    c. Transportation Security Administration (TSA), from DoT
    d. Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC), from DoT
    e. Portions of the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, formerly under the Department of Agriculture (DoA)
    f. Office for Domestic Preparedness, from DoJ
    g. Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)
    h. Stategic National Stockpile and the National Disaster Medical System, from the Department of Health and Human Services
    i. Federal Protective Service
    j. Nuclear Incident Response Team, from Department of Energy (DoE)
    k. Domestic Emergency Support Teams, from DoJ
    l. National Domestic Preparedness Office, from FBI
    m. Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) countermeasures programs, formerly conducted by DoE
    n. National Biological Defense Analysis Center, formerly under DoD
    o. Plum Island Animal Disease Center formerly DoA
    p. Federal Computer Incident Response Center, formerly under the Government Services Administration
    q. National Communications System, formerly under DoD
    r. National Infrastructure Protection Center, formerly under FBI
    s. Energy Security and Assurance Program, from DoE
    t. The Secret Service, from DoT
    u. The U.S. Coast Guard, from DoT.
86. The press was quick to ridicule DHS when screeners allowed a passenger to board a jet with a prohibited object or when security agents were perceived to overreact

to a situation. DHS became the brunt of sarcasm when recommendations for prudent security measures were blown out of proportion, resulting in a run on duct tape and plastic wrap during terror alerts.

87. "Press Briefing on the West Coast Terrorist Plot by Frances Fragos Townsend, Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism," The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 9 February 2006, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/02/20060209-4.html; accessed July 2009.
88. Ann Scott Tyson, "U.S. to Raise 'Irregular War' Capabilities," *The Washington Post*, 4 December 2008, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/03/AR2008120303495.html; accessed July 2009. See also:
    a. Department of Defense Directive 3000.07, "Irregular Warfare (IW)," 1 December 2008, www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/300007p.pdf; accessed July 2009.
    b. Walter Pincus, "Irregular Warfare, Both Future and Present," *The Washington Post*, 7 April 2008, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/04/06/AR2008040601841.html; accessed July 2009.
    c. Jason Sherman, "New Blueprint for Irregular Warfare," 16 May 2006, www.military.com/features/0,15240,97301,00.html; accessed July 2009.
89. Michael Warner and J. Kenneth McDonald, *U.S. Intelligence Community Reform Studies Since 1947*, Center for the Study of Intelligence, April 2005, www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/US%20Intelligence%20Community%20Reform%20Studies%20Since%201947.pdf; accessed July 2009.
90. Marks, Meer, and Nilson, *Manhunting: A Methodology*, p. 73.
91. United Nations conventions on terrorism are listed here (from United Nations Web site):
    a. Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, Tokyo, 14 September 1963
    b. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, The Hague, 16 December 1970
    c. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, Montreal, 23 September 1971
    d. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, New York, 14 December 1973
    e. International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, New York, 17 December 1979
    f. International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, New York, 15 December 1997
    g. International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, New York, 9 December 1999

h. Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, Vienna, 3 March 1980

i. Protocol on the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, Montreal, 24 February 1988

j. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, Rome, 10 March 1988

k. Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms located on the Continental Shelf, Rome, 10 March 1988

l. Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection, Montreal, 1 March 1991

m. International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, New York, 13 April 2005.

92. The Allied powers held 17 strategic conferences at mutually accessible locations including Casablanca, Yalta, or Teheran. The conferences set strategic goals and outlined plans for conducting the war against the Axis powers; the decisions made also set the stage for world security over the next 60 years. These conferences established the Atlantic Charter; arrived at a "Europe First" policy; concluded that the Allied powers would focus on a peripheral strategy first, then invade Europe later; and established a Deadline for Invasion of Europe, settled the post-war partition of Europe, and set the Conditions for Surrender. The conferences established institutions, which persist to the present day, including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and United Nations. The conference attendees also selected key leaders for combined operations—most notably the appointment of General Dwight D. Eisenhower as Supreme Allied Commander. Major technological advancements and war materiel production were also addressed in these forums, including the announcement of the Manhattan Project.

93. At the height of the Battle of Waterloo, the French emperor Napoleon rode within range of the British cannon. An astute artillery officer realized that the battle could be won at that moment with a single well-placed cannon shot—kill Napoleon Bonaparte, and the entire reason for the Allied campaign would be over. The officer informed Lord Arthur Wellesley of the opportunity, requesting permission to open fire at their French rival. The Duke of Wellington, commander of the Allied armies, gave the terse response recorded—generals do not shoot each other.

94. Michael Vlahos, "Fighting Identity: Why We Are Losing Our Wars," *Military Review* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, November-December 2007), pp. 2-12.

95. For recent examples, see:

a. Scott Pelley, "Karzai: Stop The Air Strikes—Afghan President Tells 60 Minutes That Too Many Civilians Are Being Killed," *60 Minutes*, 28 October 2007.

b. Carlotta Gall, "British Criticize Air Attacks in Afghan Region," *The New York Times*, 9 August 2007.

c. Josh White, "U.S. Boosts its Use of Air Strikes in Iraq," *The Washington Post*, 17 January 2008.

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96. Alan Axelrod, *Chronicle of the Indian Wars: From Colonial Times to Wounded Knee*, (New York: Prentis Hall Press, 1993), pp. 12-13.

97. Ibid., p. 151-154.

98. Lawrence A. Yates, *The U.S. Military's Experience in Stability Operations, 1789-2005, Global War on Terrorism Occasional Paper 15* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007), p. 4, http://cgsc.leavenworth.army.mil/carl/download/csipubs/yates.pdf; accessed July 2009.

99. John S. Brown, *The Occupation of Mexico May 1846-July 1848*, CMH Pub 73-3 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center for Military History, 23 May 2006), www.army.mil/CMH/brochures/Occupation/Occupation.htm#b7; accessed July 2009.

100. Major Steve Marks pointed out the potential manhunting implications, the history, and existence of *Letter of Marque* to me during a conference in March 2006.

101. Norman Polmar and Thomas Allen, *The Encyclopedia of Espionage* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1997), pp. 44-45. General Lafayette Baker recounted his Civil War exploits and pursuit of the Lincoln Plotters in his book *History of the United States Secret Service* (1887). Though he succeeded in slowing down Confederate intelligence operations, Baker was also believed to be corrupt by many contemporaries. He ignored legal niceties, often holding suspects without charges. Baker was dismissed by President Andrew Johnson, and later testified against Johnson during impeachment hearings, providing false testimony about documents that, had they existed, would have harmed Johnson.

102. Richard Garrett, *The Raiders: The Elite Strike Forces that Altered the Course of War and History* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1980), pp. 63-77.

103. Polmar and Allen, The Encyclopedia of Espionage.

104. Buck Connor, "Thomas Tate Tobin," Buck's Base Camp Web site, http://buckconner.tripod.com/buck1.html#TOBIN; accessed August 2009.

105. Duane Schultz, *The Dahlgren Affair: Terror and Conspiracy in the Civil War* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1998).

106. William A. Tidwell, *April '65: Confederate Covert Action in the American Civil War* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1995).

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108. Axelrod, Chronicle of the Indian Wars: From Colonial Times to Wounded Knee, pp. 230-235.

109. Gott, In Search of an Elusive Enemy.

110. Geronimo credited Lawton later, remarking:

> Soon General Miles was made commander of all the western posts, and troops trailed us continually. They were led by Captain Lawton, who had good scout.
>
> The Mexican soldiers also became more active and more numerous. We had skirmishes almost every day, and so we finally decided to break up into small bands. With six men and four women I made for the range of mountains near Hot Springs, New Mexico.

Source: Geronimo: His Own Story, www.firstpeople.us/FP-Html-Legends/Geronimo_His_Own_Story_1.html; accessed August 2009.

111. Tom Horn (21 November 1860 to 20 November 1903) was born in Missouri. He held numerous jobs as a scout, soldier, hired gunman, detective, lawman, and most infamously as an assassin. A Pinkerton detective from 1890-1894, Horn killed 17 opponents in shootouts. He was hanged the day before his 43rd birthday in Cheyenne, Wyoming, charged with a murder he probably did not commit. During his time he is believed to have killed between 42-47 people. Of his life Horn said "… Killing men is my specialty. I look at it as a business proposition, and I think I have a corner on the market."

For more information on Horn, see Chip Carlson, *Tom Horn: Blood on the Moon – The Dark History of the Murderous Cattle Detective* (Glendo, WY: High Plains Press, 2001).

112. Charles Bare Gatewood, First Lieutenant, United States Army, www.arlingtoncemetery.net/charlesb.htm; accessed July 2009.

113. Robert D. Ramsey III, *Savage Wars of Peace: Case Studies of Pacification in the Philippines, 1900–1902, The Long War Series Occasional Paper 24* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007), pp. 23-103, http://cgsc.leavenworth.army.mil/carl/download/csipubs/ramsey_24.pdf; accessed July 2009. Ramsey concludes this excellent paper with the following statistics:

> The war in the Philippines was costly to all. Of the 126,500 Americans who served, 4,200 died (a death rate of 32:1,000) and over 2,800 were wounded—a total casualty rate of 5.5 percent. Financial costs totaled over $400 million or 20 times the original purchase price for the Philippines. The insurrectos lost 16,000 to 20,000 killed, and about 34,000 Filipinos died as a direct result of the war. Another 200,000 noncombatants died in a cholera epidemic at the end of the war. These civilian losses would be equivalent to the United States losing 1 million out of a population of 250 million from war deaths and over 8 million from disease. This little known war was more than an insignificant skirmish for all those involved.

114. Robert Leckie, *The Wars of America* (New York: Harper Collins Pub, 1968 and updated 1992), p. 625.

115. *U.S. Army Campaigns: Mexican Expedition* (Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center for Military History, 2003), www.history.army.mil/html/reference/army_flag/mexex.html; accessed August 2009.

116. *FBI History – Famous Cases*, 2006, www.fbi.gov/libref/historic/famcases/famcases.htm; accessed July 2009.

117. William B. Breuer, *MacArthur's Undercover War, Spies, Saboteurs and Secret Missions*, (Indianapolis: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1995), pp. 14-19, 189.

118. *FBI History: Famous Cases: George John Dasch and Nazi Saboteurs*, www.fbi.gov/libref/historic/famcases/nazi/nazi.htm; accessed July 2009.

119. South London Warlords, *Death of an Admiral: The attack on Isoroku Yamamoto April 1943*, South London Warlords site, www.salute.co.uk/salutegames/yamamoto/Yamamoto.htm; accessed August 2009. This account is probably based on the book *Attack on Yamamoto* by Carroll V. Glines (Schiffer Military History, 1993).

See also C. Peter Chen, *Death of Yamamoto*, 18 April 1943, www.ww2db.com/battle_spec.php?battle_id=51; accessed July 2009.

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121. Information on famous spy cases taken from official home pages for the FBI, U.S. Marshal Service, and Department of Justice.

122. Gerald K. Haines, *CIA and Guatemala Assassination Proposals 1952-1954*, CIA Historical Staff Analysis, June 1995. Sanitized copies of this paper were released in 1997 under the CIA Historical Review Program and are available at www.foia.cia.gov/; accessed July 2009.

123. Memorandum, "CIA's Role in the Overthrow of Arbenz," CIA Historical Review Program Sanitized Release, 12 May 1975, www.foia.cia.gov; accessed July 2009.

124. CIA Director of Security, Memorandum for: Executive Secretary, CIA Management Committee, "Family Jewels," 16 May 1973. Sanitized copies of this paper were released in June 2007 under CIA Historical Review Program and are available at www.foia.cia.gov/; accessed July 2009.

125. United States Senate, Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders: An Interim Report of the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 20 November 1975), pp. 12-70. The author rearranged excerpts from the Church Committee's interim report to provide a chronological account of the operation.

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    a. Bob Cutts, "Retrievers Never Bark Up Wrong Tree: Dogs Smell Out Reds, Ambushes," *Stars & Stripes*, 9 July 1968, Combat Tracker Team Archives, www.combattrackerteam.org/archive4.htm; accessed July 2009. Quote attributed to 1st Lieutenant Don Hendricks.
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128. John L. Plaster, *SOG: The Secret Wars of America's Commandos in Vietnam* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), pp. 90-94. See also:
    a. Billy Waugh and Tim Keown, *Hunting the Jackal: A Special Forces and CIA Ground Soldier's Fifty-Year Career Hunting America's Enemies* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), pp. 47-64.
    b. Robert Noe and Brad Ryti, "MACV-SOG MIA/KIA Chronological List," 2001, www.macvsog.org/1967.htm; accessed July 2009.
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131. In April 2003, American forces captured Abu Abbas 50 miles west of Baghdad while he attempted to flee to Syria in the face of Operation Iraqi Freedom. Abbas died of natural causes in March 2004 while in U.S. custody. See the following articles:
    a. David Ensor, "U.S. captures mastermind of Achille Lauro hijacking," *CNN*, 16 April 2003, www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/04/15/sprj.irq.abbas.arrested/; accessed July 2009.
    b. Associated Press, "Terrorist Abu Abbas Dies in Iraq," 9 March 2004, www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,113719,00.html; accessed July 2009.
132. Chris Bishop, *The Aerospace Encyclopedia of Air Warfare, Volume Two: 1945-Present* (London: Aerospace Publishing, Ltd., 1997), pp. 184-187.
133. Tom Searle, et al., *United States Special Operations Command History: 15th Anniversary* (Tampa, FL: USSOCOM History and Research Office, 2002), p. 32.
134. "U.S. to Rely on Air Strikes If War Erupts," *The Washington Post*, 16 September 1990. The opening line of the article stated: "The Joint Chiefs of Staff have concluded that U.S. military airpower, including a massive bombing campaign against Baghdad that specifically targets President Saddam Hussein, is the only effective action to force Iraqi forces from Kuwait if war erupts, according to Air Force Chief of Staff Michael J. Dugan."

135. Richard Lowry, "A View to a Kill: Assassination in War and Peace," *National Review*, Gale Group, 11 March 2002. Note the careful wording of Cheney's comment: "We never talk about the targeting of specific individuals …" The comment leaves open the possibility that the United States did in fact target Hussein, but did not *talk about* it.

136. Donald Blackwelder, *The Long Road to Desert Storm and Beyond: The Development of Precision-Guided Bombs* (Maxwell AFB, AL: School of Advanced Airpower Studies, 1992), p. 40. Though not a stated policy, the high priority effort to develop the GBU-28 implies that Hussein was a HVT whose convenient demise might further the allied cause.

137. Mark Bowden, *Killing Pablo: The Hunt for the World's Greatest Outlaw* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2001).

138. *SFOR Fact Sheet: Persons Indicted for War Crimes*, November 2001, www.nato.int/sfor/factsheet/warcrime/t001116i.htm; accessed July 2009.

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Marks, Meer, and Nilson also highlight the Balkan PIFWC operations, citing the ICTY Web site on p. 9:

> A total of 112 individuals have been indicted, with 27 individuals cleared, charged, or killed during the arrest (one individual's indictment being incomplete when he died explains the statistical discrepancy). Altogether, 84 personnel have been indicted for war crimes in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia. Of these 84, 25 indictees are still at large, 9 were released pending trial, and 50 are in custody or serving a sentence. 22 indictees surrendered to the appropriate forces, with 6 PIFWCs surrendering as an indirect result of the economic pressure placed on Serbia by the United States. According to the ICTY's data (last updated in October 2002) the U.S. military was responsible for the direct apprehension of 5 individuals over a 6-year period, which means the U.S. Government caught fewer than 6 percent of the PIFWCs …

140. See the official Pentagon biography of Les Aspin at www.defenselink.mil/specials/secdef_histories/bios/aspin.htm; accessed July 2009. An excerpt follows:

> In September 1993, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell had asked Aspin to approve the request of the U.S. commander in Somalia for tanks and armored vehicles for his forces. Aspin turned down the request. Shortly thereafter Aideed's forces in Mogadishu killed 18 U.S. soldiers and wounded more than 75 in attacks that also resulted in the shooting down of three U.S. helicopters and the capture of one pilot. In the face of severe congressional criticism, Aspin admitted that in view of what had happened he had made a mistake, but stated that the request for armored equipment had been made within the context of delivering humanitarian aid to Somalia rather than protecting troops. In an appearance before a congressional committee to answer questions about the Somalia disaster, Aspin made an unfavorable impression

and appeared weak in response to the detailed probing and criticism of his performance. The President publicly defended Aspin but made clear that the White House was not involved in the decision not to send armor reinforcements to Somalia. Several members of Congress called on Clinton to ask for Aspin's resignation.

On 15 December 1993 President Clinton announced Aspin's resignation, for personal reasons. Given the problems that Aspin encountered during his short term, most obviously the losses in Mogadishu, observers assumed that the President had asked him to step down. Speculation in the media centered on the Somalia embarrassment and on Aspin's differences with the Office of Management and Budget over how much the Defense budget should be cut. The Secretary's health problems, of course, may well have also been a factor.

141. Kent DeLong and Steven Tuckey, *Mogadishu! Heroism and Tragedy* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1994), pp. 2-3. Another good book is *Blackhawk Down* by Mark Bowden. This book, about the Battle of Mogadishu, was later made into a feature film by the same name. See also Tom Searle, et al., *United States Special Operations Command History: 15th Anniversary*, pp. 50-51.

142. Also refer to Samuel Katz, *Relentless Pursuit: The DSS and the Manhunt for Al Qaeda Terrorists* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 2002).

143. Paul Anderson, "Ramzi Yousef Found Guilty on Four Counts," *EmergencyNet News*, ERRI Daily Intelligence Report - ERRI Risk Assessment Services, Vol. 3, 317, 13 November 1997, www.emergency.com/alrt1197.htm; accessed July 2009.

144. Marks, Meer, and Nilson, *Manhunting: A Methodology*, p. 35.

145. *Afghanistan Drugs and Terrorism and U.S. Security Policy*, Hearing Before the Committee on International Relations House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, Second Session, 12 February 2004, U.S. Government Printing Office, www.internationalrelations.house.gov/archives/108/91798.pdf; accessed July 2009.

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147. Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), pp. 369-525.

148. Kenneth Katzman, *Al Qaeda: Profile and Threat Assessment*, CRS Report for Congress, 17 August 2005, p. 5, www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL33038.pdf; accessed July 2009.

149. *Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People*, The White House, 20 September 2001, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html; accessed July 2009. Full text of President Bush's address is available at this site.

150. Katzman, Al Qaeda: Profile and Threat Assessment, p. 10.

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152. John Pike, *Operation Enduring Freedom – Operations*, Global Security.org, 2005, www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/enduring-freedom-ops.htm; accessed July 2009.

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sons each warranted $15 million bounties. Intelligence from the rewards programs quickly resulted in the discovery and death of Qusay and Uday Hussein, along with Saddam's 14-year-old grandson. Other intelligence prompted raids that revealed Hussein's support hinged on five families in the area of al Ouja, Iraq. Sealing off the city, the 4th Infantry Division (4 ID) and SOF detained the majority of his supporters. This in turn produced documents and photographs. The search narrowed to Saddam's bodyguards—dubbed "the 42-inch waistband club" by 4 ID officers due to their increasing girth as the bodyguards aged and prospered—ultimately leading the search to a remote farmhouse.

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Meanwhile Alexander followed on his heels, covering 400 miles in 11 days. Two Persian nobles willing to help rode to the site where the Macedonians were encamped. Before Alexander arrived at the place where Darius had been, however, Bessus had stabbed his cousin to death, and then fled into the night. When Alexander found him, the Persian king had breathed his last. In a respectful gesture, Alexander covered him with his cloak, then sent the king's body to his mother, Sysgambis, for proper burial in the city of Persepolis.

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